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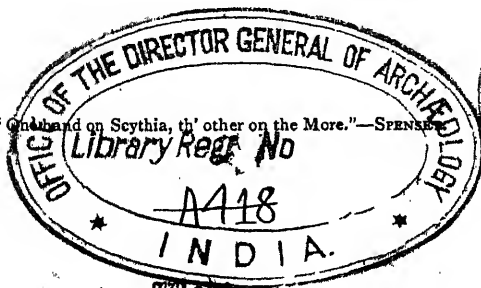


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THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1912.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

BY E. H. PARKER.

FOREIGNERS are never tired of repeating Sir Thomas Wade's famous saying of forty-three years ago. It was in reference to the high-minded Manchu statesman Wënsiang, whom it pleased Sir Thomas to characterize as "the last of the Manchus." Sir Thomas (then Mr.) Wade was at the time engaged in pounding at the eel-like Tsung-li Yamên in general, and its chief member, Wënsiang, in particular, upon the subject of China's obstinate objection to reform or progress, menacingly adding: "You'll *have* to move sooner or later." Wënsiang is alleged to have quietly replied: "Yes, China *is* slow to move; but when she does start moving, she will move at such a pace that you Europeans will take alarm."*

And now all this has really come to pass; but what with the names of new persons, the mention of strange localities, and the apparent incoherence of revolutionary ambitions, it is not at all likely that the general reader—least of all, the reader who has no personal knowledge of China—will be able, as the saying goes, "to see the wood for the trees." Yet so far back as September, 1904, an endeavour was

* For further anecdotes about Wënsiang, Wu T'ing-fang, Yüan Shī-k'ai, Li Hung-chang, and other prominent Chinese in the good old hammer-and-tongs days of Sir Thomas Wade, see "John Chinaman" (Murray, 1901). Sir Thomas probably achieved more solid work in China than any other Minister has done, British or otherwise.

made to interest the British public in "The Republicanism of China," a subject remorselessly rejected by editor after editor of our home reviews and magazines, but which ultimately found a refuge in the *Overland China Mail* of September 6 in that year. It may also be permitted to call attention to an article published in the 1910 volume of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, in which the problem of the evanescent Manchus is once more carefully discussed; "but it bristles with difficulties at every turn, and over-haste might suddenly land the dynasty, and, as a sequel, the Empire, in a serious mess." So it was then said.

Even as recently as 1894, when the writer of these lines left China for good, there was no change whatever to record in the constitution of the inert mass. China was sleepier and more obstinately inert than ever. The Empress-Dowager had retired for five years; missionaries were having a rough time of it in quite reactionary days; the young Emperor was trying his hand at a few reforms; the audience question at least had just been settled afresh; the Czar Nicholas had at Vladivostock three years before, as heir to the throne, overturned the first barrow of earth for the Siberian Railway embankment, and the shadow of Russia began to loom close. The Russians, who knew nothing whatever as yet of Manchuria, were beginning to take the Danes under their wing in China, in view of marine cable influences. The most important question of all—the Korean question—had been temporarily patched up by halting and not very competent Peking diplomacy; the Chinese press was still in its infancy; the plague had just broken out in Hong-Kong; the Japanese were watchful, both as to plague and as to diplomacy, and so little was really known of their formidable army that a peripatetic British military officer of rank published a book, in which he humorously and patronizingly described for our European entertainment the "inspection" he had just carried out in Japan, leaving the impression that he was dealing with a pack of school-boys playing at being soldiers.

The Japanese-Chinese War about Corea broke out the very day the writer sailed homewards for good from Nagasaki, after being duly steamed with all his clothes at the quarantine station there. China's navy was supposed* to be really formidable, and the well-nigh universal opinion amongst foreigners then was that she would soon make mincemeat of temerarious Japan. However, China soon received—and the Manchus received too—her first really drastic lesson. Meanwhile Germany had for long been feeling her way to a place in the sun. Her demands became more pressing after her "services" to China in ousting Japan from Liao Tung, and accordingly, in 1897, there followed the seizure of Kiao Chow, as a sequel to which ensued the occupation by Russia, France, and Great Britain respectively, of Port Arthur, Kwang-chow Wan, and Weihai-wei; then came the "spheres of influence" doctrine," and the talk of "dividing the melon." China and the Manchus had never sunk so low. The solitary piece of gratification the Peking Government enjoyed was their successful resistance to Italy's pretensions in San-tu Ao (Fuh Kien). But the nation's ancestral pride was now thoroughly aroused, as well as the nation's imminent fear. Floundering about for a remedy, dynasty and people in their vague dread of each other, as well as of the hated foreigners, could think of nothing better than the cult of the wretched "Boxer" fiasco. If they had only had the full courage of their despair, they might easily have made a good job of it, and swept off the heads of every single foreigner in China, angels and ministers of grace included. The real reason why they did not achieve this result probably was because the interests of the dynasty and those of the people were not in some important points identical, and neither party could see its way to trust the other. Messrs. Bland and Backhouse make this point very clear in their book. Meanwhile the Siberian Railway was finished, and

* See "John Chinaman" (pp. 241, 252), for the causes of the navy's collapse.

Manchuria was practically in pawn to Russia ; the old Empress had now fully reasserted her exclusive power at the expense of Imperial prestige ; the reformers were busy propagating schemes ; the Southern Chinese felt that the position of the Emperor was ridiculous ; the press was advancing all over China by leaps and bounds ; indemnities led to loans, loans to taxation, taxation to discontent, discontent to a widespread and passionate desire for reform. China was—and still is—in the fatal clutches of the Western financial octopus, and the fate of Turkey, Persia, and Poland was, and is, ever before them. It is pathetic to notice that in an officially published presidential telegram, dated this very month (April), Yüan Shi-k'ai, in pleading with the Vice-President, Li Yüan-hung, for patience, union and progress, actually says : " Let us beware of the fate of the Polish States ! "

The first overt act of an unmistakably revolutionary nature to strike real terror into the Manchu heart was the attempted assassination at the Peking railway-station of the Mission of Enquiry, then being despatched to Europe, America, and Japan ; this was in October, 1905. Then followed the murder of the reactionary Manchu Enming, Governor of An Hwei Province, in the summer of 1907, and the popular emotion in connection with the punishment of his alleged assassins. From this time onwards the isolated and exclusive Manchu officials in the provinces grew distinctly nervous about their safety, and for the first time, perhaps, in the history of the dynasty it became positively dangerous to be a ruling Manchu at large. From time to time there were rumours—usually hushed up—of attempts to assassinate this or that Prince, or even the Dowager or the Emperor at Peking. The sudden death of the Emperor and Empress-Dowager towards the end of 1908 did not at first seem to have any disintegrating effect upon the dynastic prestige ; on the contrary, a current of sympathy with the young Regent and his baby Emperor seems to have been generated both in China and abroad.

Then, again, the Government showed unexpected vitality in Tibet and Yün Nan. On the other hand, the deaths of Chang Chī-tung and Sun Kia-nai removed valuable restraining forces from the Manchu reform policy at Peking. Possibly things might have gone quite differently had not personal spite and probably eunuch influence been permitted to vent itself in the curt dismissal of Yüan Shī-k'ai. This man's character, owing to his not speaking any language but Chinese, is not well understood; moreover, he has never played to the gallery; whether from a strictly "filial piety" and theoretically Confucian point of view, or from the purely practical point of view of common sense and prudence, his action in 1898 in siding with the long-headed old Dowager against the impulsive young Emperor was, if not correct, at all events, logically defensible. He was practically asked to commit treacherous murders, and declined. Trimmer and opportunist, indeed, he may be. Why not? It is precisely trimmers and "opportunists" that are most wanted in dangerous times where angels fear to tread; consciences and heart-searchings must not be overstrained when you are fighting for your bare life; and, after all, what baseness has Yüan shown in his present quandary? The marvellous thing is, on the contrary, that Yüan, in his new capacity, despite his plebeian manners, very moderate Chinese learning, and entire ignorance of all foreign languages, has managed so far to act generously to his Imperial enemies, to keep his temper, to give soft answers to impracticable enthusiasts, to hold his tongue and restrain his pen, to avoid treading unnecessarily on any one's toes, and to keep the crazy, unwieldy machine going somehow until men's minds shall have calmed down. The poor man may be compared with a distinguished but old-fashioned musician, set at a moment's notice to the task of keeping up his reputation by playing day after day a difficult new march on a patent modern organ. The steam-bellows have started. His hair stands on end; his eyes start out of his head; perspiration streams down his face as he jabs

down a pedal here, pushes in a stop there, grabs wildly at the bell, pushes in the trombone or what not, in order to produce a special effect at some critical passage, and finally gets through his daily task, nerve-shaken, exhausted, and sleepless. The native papers say that neither he nor his colleague Li Yüan-hung (probably the finest character in China at this moment), has averaged more than three hours' sleep a day since October last.

But to return to the immediate causes of the revolution. Last year the Manchu, "Tartar-General" Fuk'ü, was assassinated in the public streets at Canton. Then an attempt was made to burn the Viceroy's *yamen*, followed by the wounding, also in the public street, of Admiral Li Chun, who had shown special activity in avenging the Tartar-General and the Viceroy. It was hard to get another Manchu to risk his life in Canton. Ch'ênghün, who was appointed, and who had been there before in that capacity, distinctly showed the white feather, and declined to go. At last a well-known Peking adventurer, named Fêngshan, was sent, and he also was promptly assassinated in a few minutes after his landing at the wharf. The same assassins who had been so successful at Canton—or their emissaries and friends—were plotting a similar raid upon the Manchus at Wuch'ang when the accidental discovery of bombs was made on the Russian concession at Hankow. Meanwhile, an entirely separate revolt had broken out in Sz Ch'wan in connection with the railway policy so obstinately insisted upon at Peking. All this was in September. The excitement rapidly spread all over China. "Down with the Manchu dynasty!" was the universal cry. Even the Republicans and other subversive groups were taken by surprise. No one was ready for such a complete *bouleversement*. It hardly seemed possible to anyone that the Manchu dynasty, so often threatened, and so often rising refreshed again like a phoenix from its own ashes, was really going, especially when it had already advanced so far in the direction of granting

a Constitution and a Parliament. All the best statesmen so inconsiderately dismissed from office were now hastily summoned. Twanfang and Ts'ên Ch'un-hüan were charged with the duty of pacifying the Yangtsze Valley, whilst Yüan Shī-k'ai was peremptorily commanded to get that notorious sore leg of his into immediate working order, and to save the situation generally. After working hard and loyally (as the writer prefers to believe) to preserve the dynasty, which, with all its faults is, or was for 150 years, undoubtedly one of the best the Chinese ever had, Yüan at last found the Cantonese party too much for him. Both Wu T'ing-fang and T'ang Shao-i had had their repeated fill of wearisome Peking disappointments. Wu T'ing-fang had reformed and codified the law, only to find his labours ignored or cast away. T'ang Shao-i had been baulked of his Customs directorship, flouted at the Board of Communications, condemned to dreary inactivity at Mukden, and left suspended in the air during his wild-goose chase in Europe and America after currency reform. Manchu Princes and Manchu favourites were filling the most lucrative posts both at home and abroad. It is difficult to understand how Sun Yat Sen came to be elected President at all. The writer has never met him, and knows nothing of him beyond what was said in connection with his London escapade in the January, 1897, issue of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*; but he has spoken with quite a number of persons who have known him in China, Honolulu, or London, and not one single individual of all these has anything to say in favour of the man's administrative qualifications. As an agitator, his work seems to have been effective; and he appears not only to have impressed young China's imagination, but to have kept his followers in China steadily supplied through his secret agents with revolutionary and anti-dynastic literature. His behaviour from the moment of his triumphant landing in Shanghai to that of his modest departure from Nanking suggests a simple-minded, dreamy individual, entirely free

from self-seeking motives or personal ambitions, but at the same time a man distinctly not strong enough to engage in the tremendous rough-and-tumble creative struggle that Yüan Shī-k'ai has entered upon so bravely.

The great question now is, "Will the Republic succeed?" The answer is that it ought to succeed, if the conflicting interests of the Japanese, European, and American governments and commercial bodies can refrain from creating complications and difficulties. It must be remembered that the disappearance of a ruling house in China is very far from being the same thing as in Europe—as, for instance, what happened at the French Revolution, or what would happen in a highly centralized and minutely organized country like Germany if the Hohenzollerns, Wittelsbachs, etc., were suddenly replaced by a set of Socialist-Republican governments in the various federal States. Chinese dynasties, and particularly the Manchu dynasty, have practically done nothing but maintain order and collect money. The virtue of the Manchus has lain in the maximum of order with the minimum of imperial rapacity. Cities, municipalities, villages, all aggregations in China, govern themselves; trade governs itself; shipping governs itself; families and communities govern themselves. The money taken from the people is in no way spent upon the people. Thus, even in the heyday of Manchu rule, if every mandarin in the Empire had been suddenly and simultaneously smitten with paralysis, no great harm would have been done to the general activities of popular life, so long as there were no breaches of the public peace. Anarchy, in its best and freest sense of "no Government," exists throughout China; the official body, from the Emperor down to the police satellite, might have been raised into space like a canopy or a curtain from the theatre of popular life without in any way checking the active course of the stage performance. In fact, the suspension of "government" is often an unmixed good in China; for so much the more money remains in circulation unsqueezed from the people;

so much the more is trade stimulated through being unhampered by obstructions and exactions; and so much the less do the unpaid police and soldiery batten on the industrious people. Perhaps it will be found acceptable to reprint here word for word the arguments which were used in 1904 before the Russo-Japanese War was over, when China was a negligible quantity in her own land, and when the wildest reformers had scarcely even bethought themselves of a Constitution, not to say a Republic:

It will come rather as an astonishment to most people to be told that there is more freedom in China than in almost any country except Great Britain. In order to make this clear, it is first necessary to inquire what is freedom, and this is best done by examining into what constitutes the absence of freedom. In the first place, there is absolute liberty of movement throughout the whole Chinese Empire. No man need apply for a passport, either in order to visit neighbouring villages, districts, provinces, or in order to go abroad. Every man has his domicile, it is true; but that is entirely a matter of family interest, unless the individual concerned be connected with officialdom, or be "wanted" for any legal purpose. There is seldom any need for an honest man to conceal the place of his origin, and in any case his dialect speaks for him. The nearer he is to his home, the more exactly he can be located—a fellow-provincial can identify the province, a fellow-citizen the city, and a fellow-villager the village. This fact, so far from being a danger, is rather a protection to any man of respectability, for he may depend upon the assistance and sympathy of his compeers wherever he may find himself. He need never report his passage or his arrival to any official; he may carry what he likes, buy what he likes, and sell what he likes, subject only to the demands of the Customs and octroi stations, which have only become a serious nuisance since we "foreigners" disturbed the financial equilibrium. It is quite unnecessary—indeed, it is impossible—to make any official report of the births, marriages, and deaths occurring in a family. The State does not concern itself with such matters, which are of purely local interest. This does not by any means signify that there is no such thing as registration. On the contrary, the genealogical records are kept with the utmost scrupulousness by the eldest branches of every surname, with great

care even by ordinary families, and with sufficient practical accuracy even by the humblest people. When a man connects himself with the official service—*i.e.*, when he begins his regular studies and examinations, or in any other way aims at an official career—he must give very specific information as to his “three untainted generations.” But for these purposes family evidence, supported by the voucher of prominent fellow-villagers, is accepted as official evidence, and, in case of future doubts, official evidence must fall back on family testimony for corroboration. It is the practice of isolated or branch families, say the Smiths or Joneses, to submit periodically to the nearest head or secondary head of the Smith or Jones clan the branch family register for control or correction. Thus it happens that many good families can carry back their ancestral history for 1,000 or even for 2,000 years. There are no game-laws in China. Any man who takes his sport reasonably can shoot or chase wild animals or birds wherever he may come across them, nor is there any jealousy or exclusiveness about property. Practically, it may be said that there are no hedges in China, nor are such notices as “Trespassers beware!” known on the country roads. Of course, vegetable gardens and fruit-trees may be, and often are, protected by a wall, both as a protection from cattle, pigs, and geese, as from fear of petty pilfering. Moreover, any “trespasser” or sportsman who should injure the crop or the seedlings would be called upon to explain, not from any legal principle involved, but just on the same grounds as he would be expected to pay for having shot a hen by accident, trampled on clean “washing,” or knocked down a dye-tub. Reasonable and common-sense exceptions excepted, anyone in China may at his own peril walk over or shoot over any land he pleases, and carry away the game. Moreover, there is no “close time.” A man’s house is not his castle in China in the sense that he may, with impunity from censure, churlishly exclude the world from ordinary social intercourse. As regards his own rights and liberties, his house is his castle, and if he chooses to be churlish, he may certainly shut himself in. But, subject to a decent care not to obtrude upon the privacy of women—subject, also, to a prudent lookout in one’s own interest for the watchdog—any passer-by may enter the general apartment, the door of which is rarely on the latch and is often wide open, to ask for a glass of water, a light, or any other trifling hospitality. If his appearance and manners are reassuring, he is usually offered a seat, some tea, and a pipe of tobacco;

sometimes even betel-nut, pickled plums, fruit, cakes, and other refreshments, according to locality and season. If these small hospitalities do not always extend to "foreigners," it is usually because Europeans and Americans have too often made themselves an unenviable reputation for rudeness. Hotels are completely free all over China; the landlord is in no way called upon by Government to act as a spy on his guest, nor need the guest report his movements to the officials. In most countries of the European Continent the traveller has to fill in an official form containing a number of trivial details; in some he has to report the date of his departure, and give a general account of himself. Certainly, so far as Europeans are concerned, the passport is in vogue in China. But that is no national custom; it is a rather modern measure of protection against supposed dangerous schemes, missionary or otherwise, on the part of the "foreigner." It is also often desirable to "protect" him, or, at least, to watch him, lest his own authorities should call upon the Chinese officials to account for some disappearance or mishap. In a word, it is the disagreeable "extra-territorial right" claimed by all white men that often curtails any national or frank hospitality which would certainly be shown to them as Chinese citizens. Since the American buccaneer "Generals" Ward and Burgevine accepted Chinese nationality in 1862, there has been no inducement to repeat the experiment. All temples, shrines, and monuments are open to the public at all times; this even extends to private shrines and trading guilds, so long as the visitor does not attempt to claim as a right what is conceded as a courtesy. Of course, it may occasionally be the practice to lock the doors of a public building from dusk to dawn, in which case permission might have to be asked to enter, to inspect, or, still more, to sleep there. In and around Peking and other places which have been in foreign occupation there is certainly some conservatism, but this is in most, if not in all, cases owing to the tendency of "foreigners" to take "French leave" instead of asking for it.

There are no sanitary laws to "bother" the individual in China. If it is not convenient to carry a coffin away just yet, the corpse may be left packed away in the common-room, or even in the street, if there is a convenient, unobstructive corner for it. Chinese coffins are so solid and well stanchied that the question of offensive smell rarely arises; moreover, John Chinaman seems "immune" in the matter of stench. In case of deaths on a wholesale scale

from plague, the natural common sense of the people impels them to carry the coffin away at once. Probably the neighbours would insist; even the officials might move if the parish requested it. In 1894 the Viceroy of Canton declined to interfere with plague "destiny" when *we* asked it. As to privies, retiring-places, sewers, "buckets," and so forth, there is absolute liberty, and even licence, according to the customs of the place. The north is dirtier than the south, for the temperature and atmospheric conditions allow in Peking what would be intolerable in Canton. In any case, it is the people themselves, and not the officials, who give the cue. Where restrictions are placed upon lepers, such restrictions come originally from the people or municipality; if an official occasionally issues a proclamation on this or other sanitary matter, it is either at the specific request of the parishes, or because custom has sanctioned such initiatory action. There is no attempt ever made to segregate plague, cholera, small-pox, fever, or other contagious cases. Leprosy is absolutely the only malady which strikes with real alarm, and here popular opinion is strict and unrelenting so far as it goes, which is not so far as with us. The cruel excess of precaution practised by the Cape Government would not be tolerated in China. There are no illegitimacy laws, and even the honorific restrictions are very slight. The rule is that a man starts off in his career with a wife, or, rather, his parents start him off, whether he likes it or not. The children by this wife are the only ones who can inherit any official title, and they rank in an honorific and nominal sense above the children of all secondary wives. Having once constructed a family, the man may then take as many concubines as secondary wives as he can afford to buy, "truck" for, or keep, and, in the absence of special reasons, all these children are as legitimate and capable of property inheritance as the children of the first or formal wife. Even "stray" children are legitimate, whoever the mother may be, if the father "recognizes" them as his. In a sort of way the formal wife is the mother of all the children; but there are so many complications connected with the need of an heir, mourning for various degrees of "motherhood," acting as husband for two related wives, etc., that we cannot do more here than enter into general principles. So far as morality and public opinion is concerned, a man may have a hundred wives, and an old *roué* of eighty may marry a slave girl of thirteen to cheer up his declining spirits; a son may introduce concubines into his father's own house; either father or son

may (with decent precaution) sell or even "get rid of" a wife or concubine, more particularly if she be a childless one, and especially if no influential relatives are likely to interfere. In a word, a Chinese is almost as much master of his own "harem" as of his own pigsty. And yet, with all this, monogamy is the rule with the poor and unobtrusive classes; even rich men rarely indulge in more than two or three secondary wives, and in practice things are not half so bad as we monogamists imagine them to be.

Every man is as good as his neighbour in China (the three exceptions will be stated further on). Any peasant lad, shop-boy, or labourer, who chooses to study may rise to be a Viceroy; that is, absence of "birth" alone will not disqualify or discredit, and birth alone brings no privilege. There is absolutely no caste feeling. To be a merchant is the same as to keep a shop. No man is ashamed of the poverty of his relations, except in so far that it is a shameful thing for an individual to leave his parents (except of their own choosing) worse off than he is himself. The *wohlgeborene* castes of Germany and the peerages of England are alike impossible in China; the Emperor's commission as an officer and a gentleman is the only title to rule or to legislate. The Manchus have certain privileges at examinations because they are comparatively ignorant, and because they are of the Tartar ruling race; the sons of officials who have died in the service of the State have also some, but fewer, of the same privileges; in both cases the motive is nobler than that under which the sons of British peers possess immunities at our universities. A civilian or soldier may be an Earl, Viscount, or Knight; but, whatever be the official rank, that hereditary or "ornamental" rank comes last, after the recital of his official status, and amongst the "mentioned in despatches," "distinguished service marks," and so on. The Englishman's "love of a lord" has no existence. No one cares a jot whether a man is "noble" or not unless he be at the same time an official, or at least rich, or a local magnate or landowner. The above-mentioned three exceptions to equality are—(1) barbers, because they handle the persons of others; (2) play-actors, because they take women's parts, and are often grossly immoral; (3) *yamên*-runners, because they are torturers, "publicans," and sinners. Some of the boat population are also under a mild ban. In cases of this sort three generations must pass before the "attainted" blood is clear—*i.e.*, every man, in producing his papers on entry into the official career, must show that he himself, his father, and his grandfather—perhaps, in some cases even his

great-grandfather, have not been actor, barber, or police runner. In practice, however, this stringent theoretical rule is waived in the case of any decent studious man. There is perfect liberty as to burial-places. A man can, and many men do, bury parents and relatives in the "back-garden." It is rare for a grave to be desecrated, wherever it may be, unless it is for motives of robbery, extortion, or public convenience. The Jesuit missionaries of Hainan Island were much detested in their time, yet I found their abandoned graves, 200 years old, standing unharmed in melon-fields, the neighbouring ground closely tilled up to the foot of the mounds. There are no public burial grounds, except for paupers or foreign religions; every man buys his own cemetery, and no one ever needs a licence to bury.

Cities, towns, and villages in China are ruled entirely by the municipalities, "vestries," or councils. No official ever troubles himself with any popular "questions." Should a road or bridge be seriously wanted for military purposes; should any official, civil or military, find himself incommoded, the interested party very soon moves the local body to act; nor is a local body ever loth to act when the matter involved is reasonable. But let a new and unpopular tax be sprung upon the people without due precaution and enquiry; let the trade guilds be interfered with, the prices of provisions raised, tyrannical arrests be made, and so on; the whole town then "comes down" at once, shops are shut, fire-engines are wheeled into and left in the public offices, water-carriers disappear, and the chief officials, if they do not soon come to terms, get their sedan-chairs smashed or themselves tumbled into a ditch. Moreover, the Emperor usually cashiers them.

No licence is necessary to become a doctor, nurse, lawyer, scribe, fortune-teller, play-actor, seller of tobacco, cards, or spirits; to drive a cart for hire, ply a boat, open a stall, slaughter pigs, manufacture sugar, keep a disorderly house, or, in a word, do anything. Lawyers are considered an opprobrious body of men, and their work is mostly of a hole-and-corner kind; there are no sheep, and oxen are required for ploughing; yet if a man feels disposed to sell dead cattle, diseased camels, asses, dogs, rats, etc., for food, no one says him nay. Gambling is either forbidden or farmed (when it cannot be forbidden) by Government. To open pawnshops licences are required, for many and complicated reasons; for spirit-distilling the same thing; in this case for agricultural and other reasons. So far as the evidence of history goes, all religions have at all times

been, *prima facie*, free, until corruption and quarrelling stepped in, to the temporary discredit of this or that religion in turn. In the suppression of the Mussulman rebellions, the Chinese Emperors have always insisted upon the principle: "A good Chinese subject need not be a Confucian, nor need a Mussulman be deemed a bad Chinese subject; whoever breaks the law must be punished, be he Confucian or Mahomedan."

I might go on indefinitely extending the list in order to show that a very great measure of liberty is enjoyed all over China. There are one or two points, however, in which it must be admitted that China has scarcely yet begun to enjoy freedom. "Libellous publications" have always been severely dealt with, and any open criticism of the Government has always been considered of a libellous nature. The censors have never been slow to speak out boldly; but that is their "business," with which ordinary folk have no concern. (Only last month* a censor denounced the Emperor's relative, Prince Ch'ing, for keeping an account with the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank.) Hence the very conception of the "Press" is a purely modern one, and it is inseparably connected with "foreigners" at that. Except under the protecting *agis* of Englishmen, newspapers could never have come into existence at all. If they flourish now, it is partly because "extra-territoriality" in this one case does good service, and partly because it often suits both local mandarins and the Peking Government to find out, and even slyly to expose the truth. In another matter the Chinese are almost as despotically treated as the Russians; any attempt at political conspiracy or subversion is punished with great rigour and unsparingly. Here again, however, the English-protected "Press" comes to the rescue, and indeed, it may be said that "political liberty" is much the same thing as a free "Press." The minds of the Chinese are still absolutely unchained and free, however prejudiced they may be; there is no such besotted ignorance as prevails in Russia. In my opinion the Chinese as a nation are not more prejudiced than we ourselves, and, man for man, I consider them quite our intellectual equals; in the "lower orders" even our superiors. Even if the "yellow races" did succeed in asserting themselves, I suspect we self-complacent "whites" would be none the worse for it. The ordinary seaman riffraff or coolie scum which turns up in our seaports and mining colonies no more represents intellectual China than our 'Arries and 'Arriets at Boulogne represent "British thought."

So much was said in 1904 for the natural capacity of the Chinese to govern themselves as a Republic. But there is another question which deserves very serious consideration now. Ever since the first revolutionary movement of eight months ago, things have proceeded without any official mention whatever of religious or Divine sanction. With the exception of a dramatic visit of notification on the part of Sun Yat Sen (who, by the way, is reputed to be a most tolerant Christian) to the *manes* of Hung-wu, the democratic and priestly founder of the displaced Ming dynasty, outside the walls of Nanking, there has not been a word of allusion in any presidential, vice-presidential, or official document to God, Heaven, the Ancestral Spirits, or the Gods of the Land. Provision has been made by convention on the abdication for the upkeep of the late Emperor's tomb, with the necessary religious services. But how about the Temple of Heaven? Who is the official mouthpiece through whom China's hopes and successes are to be announced? Is the Manchu Emperor to continue his spiritual functions? We read of T'ang Shao-i opening, under the auspices of Sir John Jordan, the building of the Young Men's Christian Association at Peking. The first Chinese Judge (Mr. Ting Jung) to pronounce sentence of death after trial by jury at Shanghai is a prominent member of the same Association there, and is, besides, an old pupil of Dr. Timothy Richards. Are the gods of China, then, to be abandoned? Is Christianity to be adopted? If so, is it to be free, or is it to be a Chinese eclectic Church, neither exclusively Catholic nor exclusively Protestant, under Chinese organization? Christianity is Catholic. China is one-quarter of the world. Why should she not manage her own Christianity, like Russia and England do? The extraordinary friendliness of all classes towards foreigners, and, above all, towards foreign missionaries, during the welter of revolution, seems to point to a general ripeness in the native mind for new spiritual teaching, and to connote a state of spontaneous receptivity for fresh doctrinal seed. This is really a tremendous question for

China, and it had already been touched upon in the article of January, 1910, above referred to.

From ancient times till now China has always been a patriarchal country in name, though a democratic country in fact; hence, so far as practical facts are concerned, the present transition need give little trouble. But in theory the Emperor is the chosen of Heaven for the benefit of the people; whence the terms *t'ien-wang*, *t'ien-kia*, *t'ien-tsz* (the last now most common), meaning "Heavenly King," "Heavenly Personage, or Family," and "Son of Heaven." The Japanese use the first and the last under the forms *Tennō*, *Tenshi*. Whether the Chinese Son of Heaven gains the throne by conquest, cession, or guile, the assumption is that for its shortcomings God or Heaven allowed the destiny of the preceding dynasty to "run out"; and that, on account of its proved virtues or tried capacity, God or Heaven has approved the chances of the new house to rule the Empire and the World (the two words were until recently synonymous in theory). In other words, as we say in Europe, the Emperor of China reigns "by grace of God," and he never fails to notify God at the Temple of Heaven of important dynastic changes, successful wars, dynastic calamities, great wrongs and revenges, national humiliations, etc. In the case of very great changes, he must also notify God at the sacred T'ai-shan Mountain in Shan Tung. Moreover, the Emperor has a monopoly of direct communication with Heaven; he "eats dirt" on behalf of his people, does penance, accepts responsibility on their behalf, and is, in a word, the High Priest of the Empire. The various foreign religions that have from time to time swept over parts of the Empire like a spiritual dew have never sunk far into the soil, or modified this virgin idea, this supreme or simple notion. Possibly Yüan Shih-k'ai's stipulation that the Manchu Emperor should retain his title and, to a certain extent his functions, in a spiritual sense, was intended to keep the Republic, or at all events Holy China, in touch with Heaven, so as not to

cut it completely adrift from historical ties and associations. In these practical days it may perhaps be thought that the recognition of the Treaty Powers is far more important to the new Republic than the approval of Heaven, but it must not be forgotten that the national democracy and republicanism inherent in China is bound up in men's minds with this notion of Heaven's sanction. Chinamen are nowhere likely to object to Buddhist and Taoist temples being summarily confiscated and turned into schools, for they have never taken a very serious view of either religion *in its present popular or degraded form*. Viscount d'Ollone, in his masterly work on Chinese Islam,* has shown that the Chinese, so far from being irreligiously inclined, have a firm and steadfast faith in such spiritual teaching as does not clash with their ancestral "loyalty to Heaven, Parents, and the Emperor." To this it may now be added that, since Chinese Moslems have, as he shows, always got on well in complete ignorance of the Khalif, so can Chinese Christians in the future get on perfectly well without any Pope, Anglican Bishops, or foreign missionaries. They show no hostility as Moslems to the Khalif now that they have heard of him for the first time, but they are quite independent of him. They argue: "Islam existed before the Khalif, and even before Mahomet: its principles are eternal, and Mahomet only reduced them to writing." They accept the Khalif in a friendly spirit, and they are likely to accept the Pope and the Protestants in the same spirit. But what attitude will the Chinese mind adopt towards abstract Christianity? Not only is the Emperor a spiritual father in communication with Heaven, but filial piety, family loyalty, and ancestral worship are inextricably mixed up with duty to God, loyalty to the Emperor, respect for natural authority, and so on. What will become of loyalty, patriotism, obedience, subordination, and discipline if no Head of the State takes the place of a Spiritual King? The high-minded Vice-President, Li.

* Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1911.

Yüan-hung, seems to have been the first to reflect upon these weighty things. He calls Yüan's attention to the fact that—(1) soldiers are devoid of religion, (2) regardless of law, and (3) irresponsibly minded; he urges that the temporary evil of military government must now cease, and that the conscientious civil arm must be wielded separately from the brutal military control without further delay. What religion does he refer to? The opportunity is an excellent one for missionaries of all countries and sects, but the only safe way is gradually to gain general confidence by works of kindness, such as care of the sick and wounded; relieving the distressed whether by famine, war, or pillage; educating the young; translating works of science, economy, and history; discouraging opium, squeezed-feet, and intemperance. They must begin by improving the worldly condition. It would be a fatal mistake to lay stress upon empty dogmas, to renew old Catholic and Protestant rivalries, to rake in worthless "rice-Christians," to meddle with the law and the administration, to repeat the politico-spiritual mistakes made by the rival Jesuits and Dominicans two centuries ago, and to drag in the Pope or the Anglican Church as a political ally. The Chinese, man for man, are fully our equals intellectually, however far back they may have fallen behind us in matters of discipline, economy, administration, the arts of war, finance, and practical law. They are quite as capable as we are of evolving their own form of Christianity, which, on its own hypothesis, was intended for them as much as for us. Judæa is nearer to China than to America, and Jewish thought is no stranger to Chinese thought than it is to ours. We ought to be satisfied with Sun Yat Sen's assurance of tolerance to all religions, and allow the Chinese intellect to work out its own form of Christianity or State religion.

Another curious feature of the nascent Chinese Republic is the "government by telegraph." With the exception of appointments to office, reports from Turkestan, promul-

gation of rules, patriotic subscription lists, and a few other things, the Temporary* Government Gazette has, since its beginning, consisted of telegraphic despatches exchanged between the President and the provinces. The advantage of this method is that ideas and words have to be condensed, whilst time is saved and distance annihilated. Moreover the transition from imperial to democratic forms is facilitated, and brusqueness of speech is dissimulated under cover of brevity. Yüan shows supreme tact in "fencing" with all sorts and conditions of men; whether a society of Chicago washermen, a local parliament, a Chamber of Commerce, a Governor-General, or a Commander-in-Chief, all are answered with a democratic ease; the President's temper is never lost, and he never argues. It is a question whether our own House of Commons might not take a lesson from this, and arrange all speeches, all questions, all answers, in telegraphic form, for there is really too much of the windbag in our politics nowadays: twenty lines of print, two minutes of speechifying—an excellent rule for all matters not involving accounts or statistics. The secret of Yüan's success is his courage and absence—not of nerve but—of nerves. It was the same when he was a young man of twenty-seven in Corea: he knew what he wanted, and said what he meant.

* On May 1 it became the "Government Gazette."

SOME DEFECTS IN THE LEGAL SYSTEMS OF ENGLAND, INDIA, AND AMERICA.*

BY W. DURRAN.

THE paper which I am to read with your permission is entitled, "Some Defects in the Legal Systems of England, India and America"—America being taken to mean the United States of North America. These three systems are closely allied; ours is the parent, and criticism, like charity, should begin at home.

It may come as a surprise to some of us that anyone should assume the existence of defects in the English legal system. We have not forgotten the flattering assurance that "The law is the best embodiment of everything that's excellent. It has no kind of fault or flaw." Nor can we charge the librettist with undue exaggeration; he merely emphasizes the prevailing note of professionalism. Dickens says: "A Chancery Judge once had the kindness to inform me, as one of a company of some hundred and fifty men and women not labouring under any suspicion of lunacy, that the Court of Chancery, though the subject of much popular prejudice, was almost immaculate." Considering the record of the old Court of Chancery, this is an astounding pronouncement; but it is not to be treated as a piece of conscious insincerity. On the contrary, it is an instance of unconscious bias produced by the combined effect of long traditions, great names, professional prepossessions and

* The discussion on this paper, read before the East India Association, will appear in our October issue.

vested interests. Great men have not been exempt from similar infirmities. An English champion of oppressed nationalities, who was at the same time a large manufacturer, offered the most strenuous opposition to the introduction of the Factory Acts. Such cases are not uncommon. They help us to understand Mr. Asquith's eulogy of Common Law, to which reference will be made presently.

But the praise of legal products by those whom we may call, without irreverence, the purveyors finds its natural corrective in the opinion of the consumers. What do our people think of their legal outfit? They have never had an opportunity of answering the question collectively. The Referendum may yet give it them. But the populace of London took it upon themselves to reply for the country on two occasions. They raided the headquarters of the lawyers in the fourteenth and again in the fifteenth century, and threatened the denizens with massacre. The Irish Inn of Court was pillaged and the residents slaughtered. Toleration of our legal system has long since passed into patient acquiescence, but never into cordial acceptance. Confirmation of this statement is found in a score of familiar expressions in the popular speech, in rhymes, in proverbs, in criticisms that are unflattering in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred.

It is a significant fact that the ideas of law and fair play are never associated in the popular mind. They are as the poles asunder. Why is this? Fair play is merely the Anglo-Saxon equivalent of justice. Hence we gather that justice and law are held to be at variance in popular estimation. And, as a matter of fact, we find a fixed determination among all the better elements of the community—except lawyers—to have as little as possible to do with law. The profound mistrust of the layman for law is an instructive commentary on the extravagant estimate of its exponents.

This attitude of keen lovers of fair play to their legal system is a strong presumption of grave defects. And,

indeed, these are neither few nor insignificant. But instead of a recital, which would be extremely wearisome, we shall do well to direct our attention to one prominent defect—the exorbitant price of the commodity supplied to the public.

I use the terms “commodity,” “purveyors,” and “consumers” deliberately, not as a rough-and-ready illustration. Nor is there the least incongruity here, because our legal system makes its product an article of sale at an extremely high price. That article is labelled “Justice.” So we find that our legal system absolutely ignores the great principle that “Where there is not cheap justice, there is no justice.” “Cheap and nasty” is a proverb whose falsity is manifest when applied to the primary necessities of physical or corporate life, such as air, water, or justice.

The cheapness of justice is a vital point. It received the most authoritative recognition in this country nearly seven centuries ago. Magna Charta makes this solemn declaration: “To no man shall we sell or deny or delay Right or Justice.” That was written in June, 1215. Our legal system has persistently ignored and evaded this proviso. Our chief repository of contemporary history, the *Times*, in its issue of September 22 last, made this remarkable admission in a leading article: “Magna Charta notwithstanding, we sell justice, and not cheaply.”

I submit that these oracles, ancient and modern, have fallen into a slight confusion of thought. Justice cannot be an article of sale, but numerous counterfeits are subject to the haggling of the market. Our legal system does its best to degrade a supreme quality into a vulgar commodity. Failing in the attempt, it palms off a spurious article on the public at a high figure. This is the special brand of justice of which the cosmic excellence is extolled in moments of post-prandial expansion, chiefly, perhaps, because some explanation of its exorbitant cost is found desirable.

Heavy expense is erroneously believed by the Govern-

ment to reduce litigation. This pseudo-remedy was administered to India in the year 1810. We shall have occasion to observe its working presently. Our continental neighbours have proved to demonstration that the promptitude and certainty of decisions—not the expense of obtaining them—is the only sound policy for reducing litigation. Just as the certainty, not the severity, of punishment is the true deterrent to crime.

It is obvious that high fees exclude a certain section of suitors—people of small means who have most need of protection. And so injustice is concealed, not redressed. Let us suppose, for example, that a high standard of weight were fixed, under which no suitor would be permitted to enter an action-at-law. There would be an immediate outcry against such a test. But it is not less irrational, and it is incomparably more mischievous, to impose a high pecuniary qualification, because the weight of a litigant's purse is no better guarantee of the soundness of his case than the weight of his person. But there is an essential distinction which tells strongly against the pecuniary qualification. The most rapacious Shylock of them all cannot deprive his victim of tissue in order to exclude him from the Court, and at the same time add to his own weight, if need be, and raise it to qualifying-point. Property, however, is readily transferable. Finding his victim already in straitened circumstances, the rich depredator withholds moneys, procures delay, enters appeals, and effectually bars the way to redress by calculated spoliation. That is one aspect; but while certain suitors are thus excluded, others of the most undesirable sort are attracted, and litigation is really fostered, not discouraged.

But notwithstanding the mischievous effect of heavy fees in masking injustice and stimulating litigation, there is a powerful circle—a vicious circle—of vested interests committed to their maintenance and enhancement. The barrister gets his first opportunity when a solicitor favours him with a brief. In the fulness of time the barrister

becomes a judge, and common gratitude suggests a certain tenderness in considering questions of solicitors' charges. Again, the barrister's first success is probably due to an appreciative jury. His promotion to the Bench is largely owing to his continued success in the same quarter. Hence the character of sacro-sanctity which the Bench attaches to the finding of a jury, even when it is palpably absurd. Our adherence to the fetish of the jury system in civil causes—after it has long been discarded by our neighbours—is a fertile source of uncertainty, appeals, and fresh trials, all of which must be finally expressed in terms of expense. But our eccentricity in recruiting the Bench from the Bar is a controlling factor in making our legal system four or five times as expensive as that of our neighbours. A large scheme of codification is the great cheapener of law. When Frederick the Great promulgated his code in 1751, it was for the express purpose of rendering the advocate unnecessary. Our common law renders him indispensable; its trackless waste is his happy hunting-ground. Mr. Asquith tells us that "the Common Law is the organ and safeguard of English justice and English freedom." That is the voice of the advocate at a Bar dinner. Jeremy Bentham gives us the true inwardness of the Common Law. "It carries in its hand," he says, "a rule of wax, which lawyers twist about as they please; a hook to lead the public by the nose, and a pair of shears to fleece them withal." Huge expense, in the absence of codification, is part of the price we pay for recruiting the Bench from the Bar; they are one and indivisible in training, sympathy and prejudice. That solidarity accounts for a graver defect than any of those mentioned, a fertile source of uncertainty, expense and failures of justice—namely, enslavement to the letter and disregard of the spirit of the law. That has been an abiding feature of our legal system ever since the Norman Conquest. The ecclesiastical dignitaries who occupied our Bench for two centuries were accustomed to discuss the number of angels who could dance on the point of a needle.

And so theological casuistry passed by an easy transition into legal casuistry—which may be appropriately termed “Legalism”—with the result that the great majority of our judges have always been on the side of the angels, like Lord Beaconsfield; and they continue the exhilarating exercise of dancing on fine points of law to this day. The late Mr. Lecky says: “There is a mind that grows so enamoured of the subtleties and technicalities of the law that it delights in unexpected and unintended results to which they lead. I have heard an English judge say of another, long deceased, that he had through this feeling a positive pleasure in injustice.” One wonders whether this judge’s decisions are marked dangerous in the reported cases. Our continental neighbours exclude the advocate from the Bench by special enactments; we decree that he alone is eligible. His manifold exigencies have long since led to a practical supersession of *Magna Charta* as regards the denial of justice, but it was not until last century that his duties were dignified by a doctrine and sanctified by a plenary indulgence. The new dispensation was proclaimed by a great advocate in the House of Lords in these words: “An advocate must not regard the suffering, the torment, or the destruction he may bring upon others; he must go reckless of consequences, if his fate should unhappily be to involve his country in confusion for his client.” Henceforward the cult of advocacy was established. The moral law was abolished, and the supreme law of public safety suspended. The advocate is the Colossus of Anglo-Saxondom. It found him mud; it is leaving him brass burnished to look like gold. He bestrides Empire and Republic, one foot in either hemisphere.

Among an extremely law-abiding people where the Press is a real power, the recklessness of advocacy consecrated by the Master finds its opportunities chiefly, but by no means exclusively, on the civil side. Expenses are multiplied, and in the same proportion justice is denied; but there are few

scandals that attract public attention, partly because vested interest bars many avenues to criticism. There is little outward sign of the nation's deepening distrust of the whole legal paraphernalia. But when the advocate's mandate is given a literal interpretation under other skies in a stimulating environment, the false worship is found to be more pernicious in the countries of its adoption than in the land of its birth.

When the *Times* concluded a leading article in its issue of April 6 last (which was a grave indictment of the administration of justice in India) by calling for a close enquiry, many of its readers were inclined to think that something catastrophic had occurred in our Eastern dependency. This is very far from being the case. There is no occasion for surprise or bewilderment. India is undoubtedly suffering from a creeping paralysis of justice, but the ailment is following a normal course. Moreover, India is not the worst sufferer from this form of paralysis. It is the ailment of Anglo-Saxondom; we shall find it in an advanced stage in the United States. But India has the first claim on our attention.

Writing just over a century ago, James Mill has this reference to India: "Although we possess force sufficient to exterminate every human being in a district where dacoit robberies are rampant, it is impossible to obtain convictions owing to the loopholes found by lawyers." The legal microscopist will discover a flaw in almost any indictment. England supplied a sufficiency of leading cases wherein a misspelt word acquitted an accused person. Baron Parke, a choice product of the Bar, was then dispensing what he was pleased to call justice. In his feats of legal subtlety he succeeded, according to a satirical epitaph, "by the exercise of the greatest acumen and the highest industry, in reducing the laws of England to an absurdity." The door was thus opened wide to Oriental astuteness. The Magna Charta of advocacy was the oriflamme of the native Bar, and they had begun to better the instruction.

We now pass over a period of three-quarters of a century, with the reminder that it is an unfailing tendency of bad systems to become worse.

Coming down now to the year 1886, we find the following significant passage in Mr. S. S. Thorburn's "Musalmans and Money-Lenders." "To illustrate my meaning," he writes, "I shall give three instances, in which the over-technicality and refinement of the law as now administered in the Chief Court has caused wide spread harm, and tended to bring the law and the Chief Court into contempt." Many passages in the same book, and in another by the same author, "The Punjab in War and Peace," enable us to trace a constant widening of the area—sown with snares and pitfalls—between law and justice, as the Bar strengthens and the Bench weakens. We read that the Chief Court of the Punjab became a byword among the people as "a Court of quibbles, not of justice." Our author gives many instances. "But," he continues, "perhaps the judgment which created the greatest demoralization, as it converted thousands of simpletons into rogues, was one which gave precedence, irrespective of date, to registered over unregistered instruments. The premium thus put upon dishonesty instigated debtors to repudiate their unregistered obligations by the hundred, and make use of the same security twice over."

This is an instance of the cruel and unjust enforcement of the fetish-correctness of FORM. The conclusive condemnation of our legal system is that it converts upright and honourable men into ministers of injustice, and simpletons into rogues.

A more recent authority on the Punjab is Sir James Wilson. In a paper which he read before the Royal Society of Arts in 1909 the following passage occurs: "The criminal law requires strengthening, not only against noisy demagogues who attempt to mislead the ignorant populace, but against the ordinary criminal, who too often escapes punishment by taking advantage of legal

technicalities. If too many people known to be guilty evade the law, what becomes of the feeling of general security?"

It is a proof that the difference between legalism at home and in India is one of degree, not of kind, that about the time Sir James Wilson's paper was read a book appeared, called "Known to the Police," by the well-known author, Mr. Holmes. He is responsible for the following statement: "I have seen a large number of prisoners acquitted about whose guilt there was no manner of doubt."

Late in the year 1909 the feeling of general security in India had been rudely shaken by the reputed acquittals on technical flaws in indictments or procedure. Writing in the same year, M. Chailley, a friendly witness, says in "Administrative Problems in British India": "Inexplicable acquittals encourage crime and ruin the prestige of the dominant race." And again: "A too complicated procedure, with its elaborate precautions, benefits the rich and cunning at the expense of the mass of the people. . . . The Government consoles itself for its relative powerlessness by the idea that dear justice prevents suits." Observe the persistence of this delusion. "Those of its officers who come in contact with the people are recommended to make them understand that litigation is ruinous and should be avoided." That is to say, the Government, having provided the machinery for litigation, implores a notoriously litigious people not to use it! Our author continues: "The people however, do not accept this reasoning, and an opinion is being gradually formed which is by no means favourable to British justice. It is not the usurers, it is said, who are ruining the country, but the Courts, with their fees, their pleaders and their procedure. Matters have been arranged in the interest of the rich whose money can insure them the best lawyers and a favourable judgment." And again: "The magistrates are indignant, and the Executive, at least in some of the Provinces, asks for remedies. It is supported by the bulk of the natives, but not by the *Babus*—

the men of the University and the Bar—and the evil will constantly increase."

It was a safe prediction. On November 27, 1910, we read in the public press that—"A year and a half after the trial began, the High Court of Appeal in Calcutta gave judgment on the anarchist conspirators who were arrested after the murder of the Kennedy ladies in May, 1908. Through a technical informality, the two chief criminals have escaped the death sentence."

Not less significant than the failures of justice on the criminal side is the constant increase of litigation in civil cases. In the Bluebook, East India "Progress and Condition" (1910), in all the Provinces, without exception, there is an increase of litigation reported; but precise figures are only given for two. In the Central Provinces and Berar litigation showed an increase of 10 per cent., and in the Punjab the civil suits rose by 20,000.

Coming now to last year, we find the *Times* of June 19 declaring that—"The administration of justice in Calcutta has almost reached a deadlock"; again, on August 26, the Calcutta correspondent of the same journal wrote that there were 8,000 appeals pending in Calcutta on the civil side alone. "It is certain," he concludes, "that the heavy cost and intolerable delay in obtaining judgments in the Calcutta High Court amount to a denial of justice."

Coming now to the present year, we find a group of criminal cases of an extremely grave character, which were concluded under the most extraordinary circumstances. In regard to one of them—the only one to which time permits a reference—the notorious Khulna case, the leading journal formulates a charge against the High Court and the Government, without qualification or reserve, in these terms: "With the privity of both the Government and the High Court, a distinguished emissary saw the accused men in gaol, and, under authority, informed them that if they pleaded guilty they would be acquitted. They did so plead, and were at once acquitted, although the evidence against them was grave." The Home Government is

understood to have denied the authenticity of this story of a tripartite compact between the Government, the Bench, and accused persons. Consequently, the acquittal of this gang of eighteen must be explained on other grounds. Lord Morley has undertaken this unenviable task. His explanation is that the trial would have lasted a long time, and would have created a bad impression throughout the country. Moreover, he assured the House of Lords that "the accused, on their return to their villages, were sent for by an eminent Hindu gentleman, who gave them a severe lecture on loyalty."

This is the final step in an age-long demonstration. The successors of Baron Parke, his equals in acumen and industry, have reduced our legal system in India to an absurdity. The Bar, after capturing the Bench, the Department of Justice and the machinery of Government, is now devouring its children---the barrister-judges. The ascendancy of the Bar necessarily involves the effacement of the Bench, and the barrister-judge is being superseded by the political lecturer! This is the Nemesis of Legalism.

It is forcing an open door to dwell on the humiliation of the Government. The world has been given an illustration of the truth of the doctrine expounded by Lord Morley many years ago that "Morality is the nature of things." As between the inculpated, it is only fair to remember that the spoilt child of the State, like the spoilt child of the family, incurs an undue share of condemnation when he brings discredit on his surroundings. He is really more sinned against than sinning. The position of the barrister-judge in India is pathetic. Learned, upright and honourable he is the victim of a vicious system. Long tradition and training at the Bar commit him to an unequal contest in hair-splitting refinements with men of races incomparably more subtle than his own. His discomfiture is a foregone conclusion.

The grave defects inseparable from the effacement of the Bench and the aggrandizement of the Bar in the old world are reproduced—with noteworthy differences—in America, because there are novel conditions and powerful stimuli

unknown in India or England. With us the Legislature is supreme. In America, on the contrary, the Supreme Court, as guardian of the Constitution, is above the Legislature. Hence the emergence of acute crises. This is a recent instance: The insanitary condition of New York bakeries has long been a public scandal. They are a source of danger to the workers and to the community. Both Houses of the New York State Legislature passed an Act for introducing improved conditions. Whereupon vested interests took fright, and offered a vigorous opposition. Their efforts were crowned with success. The Supreme Court held that the Act was "unconstitutional," being an infringement of the liberty of the subject who must not be prevented from working in insanitary surroundings if he chooses to do so. This is legalism "in excelsis," the microscopic eye applied to the interpretation of the Constitution. Mr. Roosevelt declares that the situation thus created is intolerable. The struggle now in progress rages along an extremely wide front, but the heart and core of the issue are the sophistical technicalities of the Bench. These were denounced unsparingly by Mr. Roosevelt during his presidential term. His present attitude is perfectly consistent with his past, and whether he wins or loses in his candidature, the challenge he has flung down to legalism entitles us to regard him as the champion of justice for the whole Anglo-Saxon race.

The attitude of the Supreme Court being notoriously legalist, it is to be expected that the atmosphere of the inferior Courts would favour its wildest extravagances. Consequently, the Bar (of which legalism is the native air) has achieved a degree of influence, and secured a scale of remuneration unimagined even in England. Its methods were described by Mr. Roosevelt, when President, in his famous speech at Harvard. "We all know," he said, "that as things actually are, many of the most influential and most highly remunerated members of the Bar in every centre of wealth make it their special task to work out bold and ingenious schemes by which their wealthy clients,

individual or corporate, can evade the laws which are made to regulate the uses of wealth."

The abuse of the jury system is another potent instrument in the hands of the advocate. A great practitioner, the author of "*Day in Court or the Subtle Arts of Great Advocates*," will tell us how juries are manipulated. He is describing the method of using the right of challenging jurymen to the best advantage. "Young men," he says, "are safer than old men, unless the advocate is for the defence when he wants older men If for the plaintiff, an advocate should remember, that he must win the twelve ; if for the defendant, he needs only one If he is defending in a criminal case, he needs all kinds of men on his jury—old and young, rich and poor, intelligent and stupid ; a German, an Irishman, a Jew, a Southerner and a Yankee. He should mix them all he can, let them fight it out among themselves, and (the last four words are in the author's italics) agree if they can."

We are witnessing the passing of the judge, and so the utmost importance attaches, we are told, to the appearance, the demeanour, and voice of the actor-advocate. In a recent case in a Texas trial the voice was the deciding factor, and so the tenor-advocate has arrived. He sang "*Home, Sweet Home*," we are told, "in a tear-choked voice," and the jury forthwith acquitted the accused, a lady who had shot and killed an alleged rival.

"The criminal laws," says Mr. Croly in "*The Promise of American Life*," "have been so carefully framed and so admirably expounded for the benefit of the lawyers and their clients, the malefactors, that a very large proportion of American murderers escape the punishment of their acts." According to one authority, only one murderer in sixty-nine is punished ; according to another, one in eighty is nearer the mark.

As regards the civil side, Mr. Croly, the author just mentioned, has this instructive passage: "The existing political order, having been created by lawyers, they naturally believe somewhat obsequiously in a system for which

they are responsible and from which they profit. This government by law of which they boast is not only a government by lawyers, but a government in the interest of litigation.

The London *Standard* of January 5 last published a list of misspellings in indictments which led to recent acquittals in America. Among these is the omission of the letter "s" in "breast," the insertion of two "r's" in "father," "State" for "the State." Here we find our English acquittals repeated literally to the letter.

One of the most remarkable statements about crime in America is made by Colonel Homer Lea in his book, "The Valour of Ignorance." "Crime," he says, "is multitudinous and rampant." And we are not surprised, considering the many chances of escape. But when he adds that "the worst criminals are Germans," we are taken aback. At first glance this seems unaccountable. We know that murder cases in America stand to similar cases in this country as 116 to 6 on an equal basis of population, whereas crime in Germany is less frequent than in this country. How is it possible, then, that Germans are the worst criminals in America?

The explanation is that certain Germans of the baser sort are possessed with the desire to introduce the high-handed methods of the mailed fist into their dealings with their fellow-men. These methods the German Government—that is to say, its legal system—sternly discourages. Consequently, the operations of the piratical section are transferred to America.

The fact opens up an interesting retrospect germane to our subject. The greatest promulgators of codes after Justinian were Frederick the Great and Napoleon. The latter did more than give his name to the code; he worked assiduously at its preparation. Both sovereigns were remorseless despoilers of their neighbours in the domain of world-politics. They were alike in another respect—they searched for the best means of preventing their subjects from following their own august example. Their codes

were an endeavour to make the layman as independent as possible of the advocate. They agreed in excluding the advocate from judicial functions. They agreed in placing the code within the reach of the poorest, and they agreed in encouraging everybody to understand the law. They agreed finally in endeavouring to make justice accessible, so that it should be the heirloom of all, like water and sunshine.

Our legal system follows a diametrically opposite policy at every point. It opposes codification. It insists that the advocate, and he alone, shall exercise judicial functions—at all events in England. It warns off laymen. Its great pseudo-principle is “that no one knows what the law is until a case has been tried in Court”—that is, until tribute has been paid. And now the wheel has come full circle, and we have an opportunity of judging the rival systems by their results rather than by their protestations.

Germany affords the best example of one, and America the worst specimen of the other—this other is ours in its essential features. In one case, a notoriously unjust man has achieved a close harmony between law and justice by the introduction of a sound system. In the other, a large number of learned, upright, and honourable men continue to baulk the ideal of the race for fair play by blind adherence to an utterly unsound system. It is profoundly pernicious in its working, although doubtless well meaning in its original purpose. At the foundation of the Inns of Court there was no dark design to build up a huge parasitical system—the negation of justice under her own sacred symbols. When the ivy begins to stretch its feeble tendrils round the oak, the creeper is as far from harbouring a sinister purpose as the tree from entertaining a shade of suspicion. Nevertheless, the ivy will infallibly strangle the oak.

In the corporate as in the organic body, in the great legal trust as in the ivy, there is the same instinctive, immanent will-to-live, to expand, to climb, to find a larger and higher place in the sun.

If the metaphor seems a trifle strained in its application to the legal systems under review, and more especially to our own, second thoughts may modify that impression. It was of our legal system that the leading journal wrote as follows a couple of years ago: "One thing is clear, things cannot remain as they are; the existing system of judicature, superior and inferior, no longer suits the country. By universal consent, large changes of some sort are desirable. The fact is that an old order is breaking up, and a number of forces, some of them new, are struggling for mastery."

We may be permitted to hope that this is an intelligent appreciation of events—such as Mr. Roosevelt's election—before they occur in America in the "fall"; but indications are to seek that the old order is breaking up in this country. On the contrary, payment of members may be expected to bring an accession of strength to the legal cohorts in the House of Commons. If we read that the old order is being found out, the proposition is incontrovertible.

The minor blemishes of the old legal order, like its central defects, are seen to be parasitical—that is to say, they are qualities from the point of view of class interest. Family Councils, one of the most beneficent bequests from ancient Rome, and an acknowledged boon among our neighbours, are denied us. Their introduction would diminish litigation. And a Government of lawyers in England, equally with America, "is a Government in the interest of litigation," as Mr. Croly assures us in the passage cited. India may yet give us a lead in the matter of family councils. An intimation appeared in the press about two years ago to the effect that Mr. Ameer Ali, who had been appointed a member of the Privy Council, was to propose the establishment of an Arbitration Court for family disputes. That is the Family Council.

Many points must be passed over. I must not be suspected of wilfully shutting out discussion by unduly occupying time after shaking down some very promising apples of discord. So I shall conclude with a remarkable instance of the corresponding degeneration of the three systems

under review without the collusion of their exponents. (Volleying compliments across the Atlantic between the legal pundits cannot be regarded as collusion.) First, as between India and England. M. Chailley, the author cited above, has a story of an astrologer in Madras who had a large *clientèle* some years ago. They believed in his power of predicting legal decisions by the stars. A parallel passage is from an instructive book recently published, "Pie-Powder," by a Circuit Tramp. It concludes with these words: "But the ministers of the law may be profitably reminded that their incantations are but necromancy after all, and may by ill-hap but half materialize the fair vision of Truth."

Now, as between America and England. We read recently in the public press that the sheriffs were occupied for some time during a trial out West in driving the "book-makers" from the precincts of the Court. A parallel passage is again from "Pie-Powder." "At the best," says the author, "there is an element of gambling in all litigation; nor do I know why counsel should not adopt the notation of the 'bookmaker' to measure the risk involved. To tell a man that he has a good fighting chance, or a reasonable prospect of success, conveys no definite idea . . . but if he were told that in the opinion of his adviser the odds were two to one in his favour, or six to four against him, he would understand better where he stood. But it is his business, and that of his advisers, to decide whether he can afford to take a six-to-four chance—say, in hundreds; and the sole function of a Court of justice is to see that he has a fair run for his money."

The suggestion is racy of the soil of legalism! Magna Charta is avenged! Not only does legalism offer a spurious article at a high price, but its delivery is increasingly uncertain. Six to four in hundreds! The lowest Court fee in Germany is twopence halfpenny! Even supposing we avoid the shock of war, can we hope to survive in the long rivalry of peace under such an incubus as our legal system?

PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.*

BY SIR WILLIAM CHICHELE PLOWDEN, K.C.S.I.

PROBLEMS of Indian Administration are numerous and difficult. Of recent years they have been largely in evidence before the British public. Perhaps the visit of His Gracious Majesty to India has given greater interest in them to the casual observer. They have been placed before the public by various authors and from various points of view. A skilled administrator holding high position, a foreign critic of great ability and highly-paid and admirable correspondents of great London newspapers have expressed their sentiments in regard to them, and given evidence concerning them from very unbiassed sources. By some they are held to be almost insoluble, and undoubtedly they present many difficulties. But the more carefully they are considered the less difficult is the solution; perhaps I ought to add to the words "more carefully" the terms "more sympathetically and more courageously." They certainly cannot be approached with any prospect of success except in the latter spirit. It is somewhat grievous to notice that even in the case of men of considerable personal experience and knowledge of India, the recent legislation in 1909, which opened up some of the highest appointments in the Indian Administration to natives of that country, has appeared to be intended only to prepare India for Home Rule. To me it is inconceivable that such a construction

* For discussion on this paper see report of the proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

could be placed by men who have a knowledge of the country on the measure which Lord Morley did not initiate, though it was under his auspices that Lord Minto's legislation was passed. At the same time, when such a view could be taken by men with Indian experience, it is not surprising that their historical oversight should be so faulty as to lead them to conceive India to be a "vast region peopled by races which, however varied in blood and traditions, have never shown themselves in any case capable of managing their own affairs." This extraordinary statement, made in a paper recently read before this Association, it is utterly impossible to reconcile with actual facts; and it is a commentary upon such a statement that its author should himself speak in terms of praise of a great land revenue system, originally founded by a native statesman, as removing what otherwise would have been a burden of some twenty millions sterling from the shoulders of the general Indian taxpayer.

Let me pass from such remarks upon the qualifications of races who, in the Elizabethan era, we found had produced a state of civilization and administration which, to say the least, compared favourably with that existing in our own country at that time.

In the remarks I am about to make I wish it to be fully understood that there is no attempt to discuss the subject of "Indian Autonomy." But it is of the utmost importance that those who now, or in the future, may take a share in Indian administration, should fix their attention on the possibility and the desirability of associating, as far and as closely as possible, the people of the country in the management of its affairs. This object, difficult as it has been in former times and perhaps not less difficult now successfully to secure, has long attracted the attention of thoughtful men both in India and in this country. It formed a special topic in the Report of the Royal Commission upon Decentralization in India, which, but for the unfortunate illness of Sir Henry Primrose, would have been presided over by that

able Civil Servant who in his experience as Secretary to Lord Ripon, when Viceroy, had opportunity of forming unbiassed and special views on this important subject.

In his successor, the Right Hon. C. Hobhouse, and the latter's colleagues, a very capable Commission was constituted for "a general inquiry into the relations existing for financial and administrative purposes between the several Governments, and again between them and the authorities subordinate to them, to report how these relations can be simplified and improved, how to adapt better the system of government to meet the requirement and promote the welfare of the different provinces, and without impairing strength and unity to bring the executive power into closer touch with local conditions."

The Commission's Report and the numerous volumes containing the evidence taken by it form a library of facts and conclusions varying, like the great country to which they relate, in character and feature, and well worth the careful study of every young man who may be entrusted with the singularly interesting opportunity afforded to the Civil Servant in India of taking a part in promoting the welfare of that great country and of its vast and lovable population. For the last century and more men of my name have had a share in that delightful work, either as Directors of the old East India Company, or as servants of that Company or of the Crown employed in India itself. I cannot wish for any young civilian who has to go out to India a happier existence than I myself passed there in the thirty years I was employed, in the various positions open to the Indian Civil Servant, either in the lowest or in the highest ranks. To those starting on a new and high career I would utter one word of warning. If they are to succeed as administrators, they must start with those sentiments of sympathy and appreciation which will enable them cordially to comprehend the reasonable desires of the men whose affairs they will be charged to conduct. The less aloof they hold themselves from, and the more fully they

associate with, the people of whom they have charge, the more easy will be their work, and the more effective the discharge of their duties. Those duties, though not less onerous, are perhaps less fascinating than they were to the young administrator who sixty years ago found himself confronted with the changed and novel conditions of life that meet the new arrival from the Home Country. In those days the young civilian held larger powers and had more opportunity for using those powers for good or evil than now occur. The power of life and death, which a young administrator in a province like the Punjab virtually possessed after a few years' service, is no longer enjoyed by the young civilian; but his opportunities of doing good are by no means less now than they were before; and the claims on the young officer are now even greater than in former years, as the spread of knowledge, the diffusion of wealth, the facilities of communication, the growth of manufactures, the progress of commerce, have increased and will still more increase the aspirations—the reasonable aspirations and desires of the more active minds amongst the native community.

Already ideas set out by men like Sir Thomas Munro—ideas not dimly shadowed in the debates in the old East India House, about the same time that Munro wrote his minutes, and held, as years rolled on, in greater or less degree by those who have helped to shape the system of government in India—have taken practical form. The number of natives of India employed in the higher posts of the Indian Government, quite apart from those in subordinate positions, is clearly shown in Sir Thomas Holderness's admirable volume in the Home University Library Series; and there is a remarkable paper—a State paper—drawn up under instructions from Lord Curzon of Kedleston, when Viceroy in 1903, bringing out in a remarkable manner the great improvement which has occurred in the employment of natives of India compared with Europeans in the various offices of which the Indian Government and Administration

consist. I have not thought it necessary to place in my remarks this day before this audience the percentage figures given in Lord Curzon's minutes, but they are available and are worth attention. Sir Thomas Holderness shows that nine years ago, out of 28,000 posts filled by Government officers in India 6,500 were held by Europeans, and 21,500 by native Indians; also that of the Indian Civil Service recruited by open competition in England numbering 1,250, 65 were natives of India. In the years since passed the tendency has been to add to the number of appointments held by natives of the country, and by the Act and Regulations of 1909 some of the highest appointments in the Administration—that is to say, memberships of the Council in Madras and Bombay—have been created and opened to them. The actual addition of a native Indian member to the Supreme Imperial Council of India was effected without the operation of that Act. That Act has also given Legislative Councils, in which the native Indian element is largely represented, to each one of the larger provincial administrations. The method and system by which the representative members of those Councils are selected have been the subject of much anxious consideration, of much public discussion, and have only finally been adopted after full publicity and full time to allow of the Indian public being made completely acquainted with the nature and the aims of that system. While this discussion was going on I endeavoured to have placed before the Indian Government, and by that Government before the Indian public, a Bill introduced so far back as 1890 into the House of Commons on this subject of native representation on the Indian Councils. I doubt whether my endeavours were successful. The Bill of 1890 was based mainly on the continued existence of the old Panchayat system, familiar to all administrators in that country who had acquired their experience in its northern provinces—a system which, though it had existed in the more southern portions of the Indian peninsula, had in some, and I am afraid in many,

instances either been weakened or permitted to disappear. But the Bill was so drawn that this would not have been an obstacle to its being adopted in a slightly different form in those portions of the country where the Panchayet system had either never taken root or had entirely disappeared. Naturally one prefers one's own nursling, and, in my opinion, the system there recommended would have been more suited to the requirements of India than that subsequently framed and passed, with its somewhat cumbrous stipulations for securing equality of representation—that is to say, equality proportional to their numbers—for the two preponderating religions of the population. As time passes there will be full opportunity for improving these cumbrous processes: but the Bill introduced into the House of Commons in 1890 would have had almost precisely the same effect, so far as giving the various provinces of India representative Councils, as the Legislation and Regulations of 1909 have secured. This would have been done by a very much more simple process than that now arranged for.

By the Bill of 1890 the number of elected representatives was to be determined in each case by the number of the population; and, though thus based on an entirely different conception from that in which the Regulation of 1909 was framed, the number allotted to each province by the Bill differs very slightly, if at all, from that arrived at by the Government arrangements of 1909. The figures for the Provincial Councils and for the Viceroy's Legislative Council, so far as elected representatives are in view, are subjoined. There was, however, one very important difference between the provision of 1890 and that of 1909. By the former it was not contemplated that in any case there should be a minority of the official and nominated Councillors—that the elected representatives should be an absolute majority did not appear desirable. The Regulations of 1909 allow such a majority in the case of Provincial Councils, but not in the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

Taking the provincial populations as recorded in the

census of 1911—and here, by the way, I desire to pay a tribute to Mr. Gait, who carried out this stupendous count, and is pre-eminent for the remarkable rapidity with which he has published the main results, for the total population of each province was actually announced within ten days of the final enumeration—it will be observed the number of members for each Provincial Council, as proposed in the Bill of 1890, would have been as follows in 1911 :

			1890 System.	By Regulation of 1909.
Bengal	...	...	26	26
East Bengal	...	...	17	18
Madras	...	...	20	19
Bombay	...	...	10	21
United Provinces	...	...	23	20
Punjab	...	...	10	5
			106	109

The figures for 1909 have been placed in juxtaposition with those of 1890, and it will be seen how very closely they resemble one another, though brought out under very different conditions; for the system of 1890 was of a much more popular character than that of the later method now in force. Take for illustration the case of the United Provinces, as they are now termed, though more familiar to men of old-standing as the North-West Provinces and Oudh. The figures for that province under the two systems come out almost identically. By the Regulations of 1909 the elected members were provided in the following manner—the twenty were to be composed thus :

One member elected by the University of Allahabad.

Four members elected alternately—

(a) By Municipal Boards of the four divisions of Meerut, Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow.

(b) By those of Bareilly, Cawnpore, Benares, Fyzabad.

Eight members, one for each of the eight provincial divisions, these to be elected by the votes of delegates of District Boards and of Municipal Boards, the number of such delegates to be determined by the number of the population in each case. Thus :

District Boards.	Municipal Boards of Towns.
Population less than 500,000, two delegates.	
500,000 and less than 750,000, five delegates.	Population not more than one delegate.
750,000 and less than 1,000,000, four delegates.	Between 20,000 and 50,000, two delegates.
1,000,000 and less than 1,250,000, five delegates.	50,000 and less than 100,000, three delegates.
1,250,000 to 1,500,000, six delegates.	Over 100,000, four delegates.
1,500,000 and over, seven delegates.	

Two members elected by landowners in Agra and in Oudh—

By voters qualified

- (a) As owning land, paying annually not less than 5,000 rupees land revenue.
- (b) Owning land free of land revenue, and nominally assessed as above.
- (c) Holding the title of Maharaja, Raja, Nawab, if conferred and recognized by Government.
- (d) Holding the title Rajwar, Rao Bahadur, Rao, Rai, Mirza Bahadur, Mirza, Khan Bahadur, Chaudhri, or Diwan, if hereditary and recognized by Government.

Four members elected by the Mohammedan community, one member for each of the four groups of divisions—

- (a) Meerut, Agra.
- (b) Rohilkund, Kumaon.
- (c) Lucknow, Fyzabad.
- (d) Allahabad, Benares, and Goruckpore.

The qualifications of the voters in this category are by no means simple, and are more numerous than those in the preceding classes. The voters are specified as—

- Owners of land (a) either paying or (b) free from land-tax or assessed to land revenue at not less than 3,000 rupees annually.
- (c) Those who pay on their own account income-tax of that amount.
- (d) Who are members of the Legislative Council of the province.
- (e) Who are Ordinary or Honorary Fellows of the Allahabad University.
- (f) Who are Trustees of the Aligarh College.
- (g) Who are holders of any titles conferred or recognized by Government, or are members of the Orders of the Star of India, Indian Empire, or hold the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal.
- (h) Who are in receipt of pensions as gazetted or commissioned officers of the Government.
- (i) Who are Honorary Assistant Collectors, Honorary Magistrates or Honorary Munsifs.
- (j) Who are graduates of five years' standing of any University of the British Empire.

One member elected by the Chamber of Commerce of Northern India. Total, twenty.

Contrast with this scheme and all its varied ramifications, its various classifications, the comparatively simple proposals of the earlier Bill.

There villages with populations of between 1,000 and 1,500 were to elect one representative through their Panchayet.

Villages or towns with between 1,500 and 4,000 population, one representative for each 2,000.

Towns again with between 4,000 and 10,000 population, one for each 2,500.

Towns or cities between 10,000 and 30,000 population,

one for each 3,000. If over 30,000, one for each 5,000. These representatives grouped together were to form a Local Council. Each Local Council, again, was to elect representatives for the District Council, and each District Council, where the population is not less than 2,000,000, or where District Councils with a population of less than 2,000,000 are grouped by the Local Government with another District Council, so as to exceed the limit, was in each case to select by ballot one representative for each 2,000,000 of the population for the Provincial Council.

Finally, each Provincial Council by ballot amongst its representative members was to select a representative on the Governor-General's Council for each 10,000,000 of its population.

As a matter of fact, the proposed legislation of 1890 was based upon the principle of building up from the lower classes to the higher, and again from the higher to the highest. The legislation of the later period is more or less founded upon the opposite principle of giving representation to selected classes and does not deal with the great mass of the population.

As illustrating this I would point to the various qualifications of voters in the Regulations. It would be interesting, for instance, to realize what is the number of the Mohammedan landowners who vote, or have the right to vote, for a representative, under (a) and (b) of the clauses relating to the election of members by the Mohammedan community; or, again, what is the number of income-tax payers who in the same part of the Regulations are qualified to vote for such representation. I fear it would bear but a small proportion to the entire class of landowners on the one hand, or income-tax payers, Mohammedans, on the other. It is, I suppose, known, and very likely the results are shown, in the provincial gazettes, what was the total number of votes cast in each province at the recent, the first election. But I have not the means of ascertaining this. It would throw

much light on what otherwise must be uncertain and obscure, that is how far the units in a population of more than 6,000,000 have been able to take a share in selecting the co-religionists who are representing them on the Provincial Council in the United Provinces, four members to 6,500,000.

The deservedly famous minute of the Viceroy, August 24, 1907, represents the proposals then advocated as a considerable advance in the direction of bringing all classes of people into closer relation with the Government and its officers, and of increasing their opportunities of making known their feelings and wishes in respect of administrative and legislative questions. Against this the preamble of the Bill of 1890 set out the right that natives of India should be more largely associated in the administration of their country ; that for this purpose the institutions of the country of a representative character should be utilized, and that the Panchayat, as an ancient and well-known representative system, should be employed.

In one respect, not unimportant, the proposals of the Bill fell short of the arrangements subsequently enforced by the Regulations of 1909. It was never contemplated in the Bill that a minority of the officials and nominated members of a Provincial Council should be possible. It provided only that nominated members should not in number exceed representative members. As the Provincial Councils now exist the official and nominated members combined can be outvoted by the representative members. This, however, is not the case with the Viceroy's Legislative Council. There has been much discussion on this subject, and very diverse and conflicting opinions are held. Personally, I regret the step taken, allowing even the possibility of the Provincial Government being overruled by its own Council.

There was a further aim in the Bill of 1890 which the passage of time has to some extent made unnecessary and put out of view in 1909. I am referring to the magisterial

and judicial powers with which it was proposed to invest the village Panchayats, and the dignities to be conferred on the District Councils. The District Councils have not in any way been contemplated by the regulations of later years. This, I think, is to be deprecated. But in the time that has elapsed a considerable change has occurred which, though it has not, to my mind, removed the desirability of the objects had in view in 1890, has at all events improved the position. A reference to the Report of the Decentralization Committee shows how much has been done in the various provinces in conferring on the villages small powers for dealing with petty cases both criminal and civil. The Report also indicates the different views of the provincial officers on this rather difficult subject. The tendency seems to be altogether in favour of making use of the popular local element in relief of the administrative local authorities. In another direction there has been a large and conspicuous advance—I speak of the provincial service, which, if not created, has been virtually largely developed in the interim; also of the “listed appointments,” to which officers of the provincial service can be appointed. These changes have been extremely favourable to the advancement of native gentlemen to posts of higher authority in the government of the country quite beyond the outlook of progressive administrators thirty years back.

I have made a careful examination of the official lists of the larger provinces to ascertain the extent to which the various administrations have availed themselves of the native power by appointments to the better paid offices. The results are disclosed in the table given on page 50:

It will be noticed that in going into this subject I have omitted entirely the Medical Department, the Police, the Public Works, Education, Forestry, the Excise and Customs, and have taken only what really compose the entire Judicial, Magisterial, Revenue and Government Departments only. Exclusive of those I have mentioned

	Bengal.		Eastern Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.		Central Provs.		Burma.		United Provs. and Oudh.		Punjab.	
	E.	I.†	E.	I.	E.	I.	E.	I.	E.	I.	E.	I.	E.	I.	E.	I.
Government	2	1	1	—	2	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Legislative Council ...	22	26	19	21	20	23	13	29	—	—	4	7	18	27	12	12
Secretariat ...	15	2	8	—	12	2	14	2	10	—	19	—	10	—	8	1
Judicial ...	22	10	12	5	30	15	29	14	9	4	21	1	42	9	27	5
Subjudicial ...	—	33	—	32	1	20	3	24	—	—	8	11	—	30	2	43
Land Revenue Commissioners ...	10	—	8	1	7	2	6	—	4	—	9	—	12	1	13	—
Collectors ...	32	6	33	4	23	4	12	2	25	4	41	1	30	1	41	3
Joint Magistrates ...	29	1	27	2	46	4	30	6	—	—	—	—	30	4	—	—
Assist. Magistrates ...	54	6	40	3	30	4	86	14	52	14	98	2	78	5	88	3
	16	85	148	68	171	75	195	92	100	22	200	22	226	83	191	67

* English.

† Indian.

the number of native officers employed, as compared with British and others not native, comes out thus :

	English	Indians and Others.
Bengal	186	85
Eastern Bengal ...	148	69
Madras	171	75
Bombay	195	92
United Provinces ...	226	83
Punjab	191	67
Burma	200	22
Central Provinces	100	22
	1,417	514

thus showing that the Indian proportion of these better appointments is as high as 26·6 per cent. Virtually, one in every four of these appointments is held by the natives of the country, and it must be borne in mind that this list includes some of the very highest appointments in the Government. Lord Minto and his councillors are to be heartily congratulated on the great advance they have thus inaugurated. We now find the Supreme Executive Council with one of

its best members a native of the country. That is an appointment carrying with it a salary of 80,000 rupees a year. Each of the larger Provincial Councils also has one native gentleman in its composition, and it is in contemplation to add to these high appointments in the provinces recently provided, or to be provided, with Councils.

Looking at it merely from the point of pay and allowances, there are three appointments here of over 60,000 rupees yearly, and one, as I said before, of even higher emolument ; and, as a matter of fact, with the exception of the Governorship and Proconsulship, the highest appointments are now filled by native gentlemen as well as by English officers. In the case of the important appointments of the Revenue Commissioners, there are now four held by native gentlemen. In the higher judicial appointments, 59 out of 243, and in the lower judicial ranks, 203 out of 226, are filled by Indians ; whilst in the ranks of the administrative officers, the collectors, magistrates and deputy-commissioners, the numbers are 409 English to 42 Indians.

Looking into this matter, I have been much struck by the absence of Indian officers in the higher ranks of the police. It cannot be in the interests of the country that this should long remain as it is. It is preposterous to say you cannot find in the native ranks a class of man or individual men not fully qualified by capacity, and I should add by character, to undertake the duties of police superintendence in various localities ; and by the very nature of the case, and the circumstances of the country, if their probity can be assumed, they will be more successful and satisfactory officials than any man brought from a foreign country. Doubtless this is a subject which has the very careful consideration, not only of the provincial administrations, but also of the Supreme Government.

Those who are acquainted with the administration of the more northern portions of the great Indian peninsula know

full well that the pivot on which everything turns for success or failure in their efforts to conduct happily the affairs of the districts committed to their charge is really the Tahsildar, and to him must be added the British officer in charge of the districts, whether Collector, Deputy-Commissioner, or otherwise styled. Obviously, if to an Indian officer like the Tahsildar so much can be attributed, with the enormous powers he possesses for influencing for good or evil the condition of his people, it seems unreasonable that large powers of police cannot be entrusted to natives of the same class.

So far as we have gone at present, the subject for consideration has been that of civil work. But there is another side to the question of the employment of native gentlemen in the higher appointments of the Indian Government which must be faced, however unpopular the subject may be. I refer to the larger share on the military side to which a native gentleman ought to be able to aspire. This is an extremely difficult topic to deal with, and can only be successfully dealt with in that liberal and courageous spirit to which I referred in an earlier portion of this paper. It is the old story, *L'audace, l'audace, et toujours l'audace*, which will hold good in this case. What is the position at present? You have a large body of soldiery drawn from the fighting classes of the country, whose conspicuous gallantry and fidelity have been evidenced on many a stricken field. How can you deny to these men higher positions in their own service than those to which they can already mount? You have no such instance as a native officer commanding a regiment, nor is there any known case of a native officer on staff employ. Can you expect the native gentry of the country to be content, if they enter your military service, with such a position of things? And here I am not at the moment considering what is a conspicuous difficulty, that of putting a native gentleman as an officer in a British corps, but even there I don't think, (but there are many who can speak much more

confidently on this point than I can) that the British soldier would object to take orders from a native gentleman. We know how completely, in the ranks, the riflemen and the Ghurka have been friends. And one knows of cases where men not of British blood, and in colour by no means different from our darker friends in India, have held commissions in our British regiments, and have been followed with alacrity by the British soldier. I recollect the case of one, a Eurasian, who held a commission in one of our cavalry regiments, who was on the best of terms, not only with his brother-officers, but also with the troopers of his own squadron. It is quite true that the latter called him "our black man," but that was simply as a term of endearment, because his dashing gallantry and his brilliant swordsmanship, along with his modesty and his fine temper, had completely won their liking. When one thinks of the magnificent service rendered to us in times of stress by men like Burkut Ali, the Risaldar Major of a cavalry corps under Crawford Chamberlain, one can hardly think it possible that there may not be some way of opening up to men of that character and with such qualifications higher appointments than they are now able to hold. It may be that the story of Burkut Ali is not known to many. It was told me by Crawford Chamberlain within a year of the events in which Burkut Ali was so conspicuous. Chamberlain's regiment had been sent down to Mooltan by John Lawrence to take its part under its distinguished leader in disarming the mutinous forces in Mooltan. They had succeeded in their object, and were returning to Lahore, and had encamped for the night in a walled serai in the district of Googaira. During the night they were beleaguered by a very large force of rebels, who sent in emissaries to the regiment calling upon them to destroy their English officers and to join the rebel forces with the Mogul at Delhi. To Burkut Ali they offered the position of a General in the rebel army, and they accompanied their offer with information which they were certain

would largely influence their answer. They told him that his brother, who, like himself, was an officer of a native cavalry regiment, had been hanged a few days earlier by order of a British officer at the former's own house, within a few miles of Delhi, and they appealed to Burkut Ali, as a brother of the murdered man as they called him, to join them with his men at once. This offer came in the shape of a written communication. Burkut Ali took the letter at once to Colonel Chamberlain and asked him what was to be done, pointing to the latter part of the communication in regard to the execution of his brother. In regard to that, Chamberlain could give him no answer, except that probably it was a lie; he, as Colonel, knew nothing about it. Burkut Ali did not hesitate for a moment. He said to his commander: "Whatever has happened to my brother makes no difference to me; I have eaten the Company's salt, and shall be faithful." The result was the rebellious forces outside the serai were driven away, and Chamberlain with his men continued his march satisfactorily to Lahore. One knows very well that if Burkut Ali's answer had been otherwise Chamberlain and his English officers would not have lived to tell that tale. John Lawrence himself recognized the extraordinary fidelity shewn by this brave native soldier, but he had no means of rewarding him by giving him extra rank, the man having already attained the highest rank to which he could reach. There are numbers of men of that description, and I should like to see the experiment tried of giving the command of one of our native cavalry regiments to such a man as Burkut Ali, providing at the same time that all the officers in the subordinate ranks should also be natives of the same position, either substantial yeomen or men of a higher class.

At present our Native Cavalry Regiments are so constituted that this would be impossible, but it would not be difficult to select one or two where the officering might be restricted entirely to native gentlemen, and I believe the

experiment would not fail. I am well aware that this is a view—I mean that of allowing our native soldiers to reach a higher rank than they do now—which may not be popular, but as was remarked to me by a native gentleman who held high office in this country, the question of opening up the military service to the native gentlemen of India is one which our Government have got to face. It is unfortunate that it has not been faced by a Viceroy who has had full military experience himself, and in this respect I think it is to be regretted that Lord Minto himself has been unable to take any action in this matter.

While we have dealt with the question of giving to natives of the country a larger share in its administration in India itself, there is one point I have omitted to notice which I think should command attention. I speak of utilizing the services of the English officials in India in connection with the appointments of the Indian Council in England. The Indian Council in England has, ever since its creation, been almost entirely filled by retired civilians who have served their country the full time of twenty-five to thirty years in India, generally having obtained the very highest posts open to the Indian civilian, and thus shewn themselves thoroughly capable and successful administrators. But these men, able men as they all have been, have been for years, the last years of their service, so placed by official exigencies as to be out of touch with the native community, that is to say, not so much in touch with the native community as younger men than they in the same service, holding appointments, as Collectors or Deputy Commissioners, which bring them into direct contact with every class of the natives in their charge. There are some who think—and I am one of them—that the India Council in England would be greatly strengthened for all useful purposes if the services, temporarily I acknowledge, of some such men could be utilized, along with the services of those older retired civilians, in giving advice to the Secretary of State.

Many of these younger men I am speaking of, who go home after a service of twelve or fifteen years for leave and to recruit themselves, if appointed for two or three years to the Indian Council, would bring to it a local knowledge up-to-date, which would be of the greatest value to the Secretary of State. Suppose you have ten Councillors attached to the Secretary of State—let three of them, for instance, be men of the description I have mentioned. The experiment, I think, would be well worth trying.

There are words in the Minute of the Viceroy (already quoted) that form the natural conclusion to what has been written in this paper. He wrote in 1907 : "The classes which will be enabled to take a more effective part in shaping the action of Government may reasonably look forward, as the necessary outcome of the measures now in contemplation, to a larger share in the actual work of administration and more extensive employment in the higher offices of the State." These are weighty words—words of the wisest statesmanship. It must be one of the main objects of the Indian Administrator in future years to secure full fruition to such reasonable hopes.

I cannot conclude this paper without expressing how very much I am indebted to my friend and former colleague, Sir Thomas Holderness, for the assistance I have received from him in obtaining the information in connection with the Statutory and Provincial Services, the details as to pay and salary of the numerous appointments now open to native gentlemen, and the general survey of the whole question which is before us, and is discussed in the paper of this afternoon.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA.

BY EVERARD DIGBY.

PESSIMISM has been—at least, until the recent visit of the King-Emperor—the current feeling with respect to the continuance of the British connection with India. It is not more than two years ago that we saw even a politician of the calibre of Lord Milner arguing that the continued adhesion of that country to the British Empire was not necessary to the existence of the latter confederation. The implication was irresistible that he foresaw such a future, and was relieved to find that he could discount its importance in advance. It is usually assumed that this feeling has only come in of late years since bombs have made a stray and occasional appearance in the country. This, however, is not so. It is a generation since Meredith Townsend wrote his volume of rather superficial generalizations on the interaction of the East and the West. And for how many years prior to that have not Indian civilians concluded their speculations with the final thought of bitter consolation that it would at least last their time, and that their sons must deal with the developments of the days ahead? Only the few scattered survivors of the Services of the forties and the fifties, who are still lingering on, ripening towards the grave, can say. And they probably are able to recall the same sentiment on the lips of men who were old when they themselves were still young. The

impermanence of our connection with India has, at all times, and profoundly ruled our thoughts. That gloomy thought is not the birth of yesterday or the day before. It has arisen from the study of world history and of Indian history itself. This has been the more so the case in a country where, above all other, abandoned capitals resist the all-effacing inroads of the jungle, where the cities of those who conquered lie alike, deserted and abandoned by the side of the cities of those they overcame. The wave of Hindu conquest swept over Indo-China and Java, and receded again so completely, that no record exists in India itself of the first of them, at any rate. In just the same way it was and is believed that the tie which unites Great Britain and India will snap within the measured space of years, and the knowledge of a brief 200 years of history will be rapidly overlaid, and will disappear under the drift of later happenings.

Up to the middle of the last century such a belief had much that was valid in it. The majority of people nowadays, though they may not confess it, still hold the belief as strongly. But it is difficult to see how they can do so save by a narrow survey of the country and its development.

They might have thought thus up to the time of the Mutiny, and even beyond it. For the Mutiny and the suppression of it was of a piece with old-world India. It was crushed with old-world thoroughness, and, as in the old days, the impression of it was soon effaced. It was not ten years after the fighting that the Wahabis, a Mahomedan sect of Puritanical life, were plotting for the overthrow of the Raj from headquarters on the border of the country. And they did not lack for the ready assistance of wealthy and talented men in India itself in the very area of the Mutiny struggle. It was not two decades after that whispers were being heard of the formation of secret societies among the Hindus, not greatly different in aim and intention to those which have sprung up of late. It was all after the fashion of the Moghul times. A rising

and a suppression, followed by the obliteration which overtakes happenings in a country that was accustomed to concern itself little with matters of history. If things had remained as they were, then there can be but little doubt that the old cycles would have repeated themselves, and philosophers would have had another illustration in support of their theory of the impermanence and unreality of Imperial domain.

But with the years that have followed, certain changes have taken place which are about to lift the country out of the old groove in which affairs happened and recurred with a regularity almost as invariable as the seasons. It is because this is overlooked that there is nowadays so much prophesying of evil for the future. India is entering the stage of modern State building. If we draw any conclusion based solely upon the semi-feudal conditions that exist at present, or if we believe that the country will attempt to show the instability of a South American Republic, we are likely in each case to be equally wrong. For since India is becoming modernized we must make due allowance for the action of distinctively modern forces. When we have set up a model of the man with the gun against the man with the bomb, we may be speaking of the actual warfare to be waged in one small corner of the field. But we overlook the areas where co-operation and fellow-feeling is forming coalescence stronger than the disruptive actions will be able to overcome.

Estimates of the situation in India and the development of affairs in that country have been numerous of recent years. Weighty and voluminous, they have, with very few exceptions, erred by basing their prophecies or beliefs upon too limited a range of facts, and the survey of too limited a range of political phenomena. It is easy, by shutting one's eyes to anything but the partial struggle prevailing over a narrow field, to produce deductions of a startling and sensational nature, and by the choice of seeming parallels in the history of other countries to see

portents of future disturbance in plain and easily understandable facts. By confining ourselves too exclusively to current politics, using that term in the most restricted sense, we can deduce on the one hand the gradual disappearance of authority, the weakening of law and order, the gradual recession of the present régime till the point of breaking strain is reached, followed by an outbreak and subsequent repression, in the course of which the present structure of life and commerce in the country will receive a set-back which it will take a generation, or perhaps two, to repair. On the other hand, it is possible, from the Indian point of view, to believe that the only movement of any lasting significance in India is the struggle between the bureaucracy and the people, and that no lasting improvement can be expected until that struggle has been settled in a sense unfavourable to the former, and that afterwards prosperity and democracy will come upon the country as rapidly and as miraculously as the genii upon the rubbing of Aladdin's magic lamp. To thinkers of this class there is not very much to be said, and very little illuminating to discuss in the problems of Indian politics. Every new movement, every fresh development, is referred automatically to the supreme struggle as they picture it; and hard and fast judgments are formed and registered without consideration of the subtler questions that enter into the development of a country. Indeed, political speculation upon India nowadays is in much the same position as the discussion of Socialism in the days of Lassalle and Karl Marx. In those times everything was referred to the struggle between capitalism and labour. All happenings which had anything to do with them were neatly correlated, labelled and described, and everything outside them was ignored, either unconsciously or with some show of irritation that there should be in existence such uncomfortable and anomalous matters. The years that have passed since those days have showed that the relations between capital and labour are much more complex than were supposed,

and the nations have refused to develop upon the comparatively simple lines laid down for them. On the contrary, they have shown such surprising differences, such variety in development, that the theory of the social war has sunk into the background, and Karl Marx has been relegated to the position of those who prophesied the nearness of the end of all things for no other reason than that there is much disorder and waste and unhappiness always present in the world. By dint of compromise, concession, and the growth of fresh needs and desires, the nations have somehow eluded the precipice ahead. Or rather the legitimacy of the function performed by capital has enabled it to survive its destiny in almost complete ignorance of its horrors, since it is only the exceptional magnate who has read Karl Marx, or indeed ever heard of him!

In just such way it is legitimate to believe that the future of India does not walk insecurely between bombs on the one side and unprincipled exploitation of its people by absentee financiers on the other. The future may possibly be less adventurous, but more to its permanent benefit! Political assassination will unfortunately need to be reckoned with for a long time to come, but only as sporadic cases of ill-doing. Also, there will always be the steady back pressure towards the old autocracy, that could not from its very essence be expected to last for ever, and which will need to be resisted. But it is well that a little attention be paid to the less melodramatic, yet more powerful influences which are going to have their influence upon affairs in the East. India, less than any other country, is unlikely ever to move in one mass; and we know how seldom even a fairly homogeneous country will do so. It seems a mistake, therefore, to expect or argue that India's future will depend upon the working out of one influence alone, even if it be so deeply marked and apparent a one as the friction between the two forces, English and Hindu, that have shares in the destiny of the country. Indeed, it is well for the country that a consideration of that question should not be the first

and the last word to be said with respect to the future. For it may be accepted as an axiom that so long as a country devotes itself wholly to a dispute as to which of two distinct classes or races should rule it, irrespective of, or in subordination to, the social policies with which they are identified, that country cannot look for anything but the stagnation of its activities. That has been witnessed no more clearly than in Ireland, which has languished for a century, owing largely to its too great absorption in the political drama at Westminster, and the inability of its leaders to see that a country does not progress upon one line alone, and that if one ideal is blocked in the road to its attainment it is usually possible to attain a satisfactory and self-respecting prosperity along another line altogether. The safety valve of America undoubtedly saved the Irish people from the most disastrous consequence of this over-absorption, and the result was delay, but not the actual decadence that would have resulted otherwise. It is fortunate that India has a political temperament and a distribution of social forces, which should save it largely from any such fate. The evils of it are manifest and lie upon the surface. When one party in the state is striving exclusively to attain privilege and the other trappings of power, and the other to preserve the enjoyment of them to itself, then in such a struggle the plain matter-of-fact duties of modern statecraft tend to become obliterated. For it soon becomes a matter of personal honour that the one should not give up the least and most formal detail of sovereignty, and that the other treat each such surrender as an evidence of weakness, and a declension of the tough fibre of its opponent. Reforms are delayed and put in the background, and improvements are inevitably, yet mainly unconsciously, considered from the point of view of tactical advantage in the main struggle. It must end that the one party considers itself solely concerned in the maintenance of its prerogatives, and the other delays reforms, since they may dull the edge of the controversy, and, less selfishly, because they honestly believe that reform

will come so quickly under a new dispensation that it can for the present be placed on one side. That disappointment will follow should such a contingency occur, does not in any way affect the strength of the belief. The example of Ireland is, therefore, not a healthy one to follow. But in such matters advice does not do much to deflect the course of nature. It is little more than a waste of time to suggest that this course or the other should be pursued. It is more to practical purpose to point out what forces there are in existence which render it unlikely that the infructuous history of nineteenth-century Ireland will be repeated on a larger and more envenomed scale in India.

The influences which will prevent this too great absorption in a purely and destructively racial struggle are three in number. There is, firstly, the heavy and almost overpowering work which lies ahead in the raising and improvement of the lower and poorer classes, in which all who are educated, of whatever their race, will more or less share. There is, secondly, the exactly contrary influence of the conservative forces, which will fight together to prevent the widening of the horizon of these people. And there is, thirdly, the attractive force of a great idea, that idea being the modern conception of an Empire as a partially decentralized, and not wholly centralized, consolidation of nations, in which country can fit itself into country and work with its companions, without the too-present sense of overlordship and subjection. For these two influences, after the initial benefit which often accrues from them, act in the third and fourth generations as cankers sapping the strength of the conqueror even more unfailingly than of the conquered. A fourth factor tending to maintain the connection, that of the primary fissure of Indian society between Hindus and Mahomedans, may purposely be placed in the background. Not because it is not a fact, but because it has received so much treatment, and is so firmly fixed in people's minds that it is refreshing to deal with the Indian situation for a spell without too great an emphasis upon it.

The matter can simply be referred to in dealing with the other topics, just as the revolutionary movement may be so treated. For the latter in particular has received more attention than it has altogether deserved of recent years, since it has served to embitter and brutalize political development, and to emphasise suspicions and hatreds which need not exist outside the narrow ring of conflicting poisons within which it works.

When we come to look upon the problems in India as something more than the crude conflict between two peoples, we must speedily recognize that we have to consider, overlaid upon it, the working together of parties on each side which have the same ideas and aims. So long as India remained unprogressive this was little to be noticed and of small importance. But now that changes are beginning slowly and sluggishly to occur, this aspect is beginning to appear. It will soon become sufficiently plain to be recognized by all. Years ago it began by the informal linking together of several Liberals in England with the various bodies that desired a similar series of changes in India. But that passed very little beyond the confines of the study or of a few scattered meetings. Nowadays the tendency has developed. On the one hand, and also open to public view, several members of the Labour party in England have visited India. One of them is going to preside over the forthcoming National Congress, and at least one Indian has spent some months in England studying the methods of that party. That this tendency has its reverse side is not so well known. But it has; and it arises largely from the strongly Conservative instincts of many Indians of the educated classes. Up to the present, it has been usual to regard all the members of the educated classes as homogeneous in political opinion outside the limits of the few individual wealthy landholders and titled men. But this homogeneity will not long survive the recent reform of the Councils or the more considerable representation of conflicting interests which are bound to

come. It will also not survive the introduction on a large and practical scale of modern reforms. The battle over the introduction of compulsory primary education will probably show an unexpected re-grouping of forces. The Indian educated classes are no more likely than the similar classes of other countries to assent to the raising of the proletariat without a struggle between themselves, in which the more conservative will urge the expense of the experiment, the need of proceeding with extreme caution and, among the less advanced of them, the danger of shifting the bases of society and filling the brains of the peasant children with ambitions "above their station" and unfitting them for their own proper work.

In referring to the caste system in this connection I do not wish to do so either in praise or in blame. It is too big a matter to be dismissed with airy offhandedness in the course of an article upon other matters. Here it is simply necessary to refer to its influence—no matter whether it be good or bad—upon the course of Indian politics. And it must be evident that it will act as a very strong conservative force against any line of development at all resembling that pursued in Western countries. If castes themselves were absolutely inflexible and unchanging entities it is possible that India would never change in its essentials. The ryot of 200 years ahead would be the same patient, kindly and limited creature that he is now and that he was when Fa-Hsien visited the country or Alexander invaded it. But this is not so. In spite of the surface immobility, there is a large measure of minor flux and change between the various sub-divisions. Sub-castes appear and disappear, and those of later or less fixed position may change subtly in status. More than that, the wave of Western thought has actually reached the system itself and on all sides at the present day, especially in the more advanced part of the country, reports are afloat of the efforts of debased classes to share in the ceremonial privileges of the higher classes and of the wealthier sections of one caste to pass

from it and affiliate themselves with the lower portion of some caste of a higher social grade. Of these efforts the most important from the view-point of Hindu society is the struggle of the Kayasthas in Bengal to establish their identity with the Ksatriyas, one of the old four fundamental divisions, and don the sacred thread as sign that they are also "twice born." In many parts of the country complicated caste disputes have broken out on questions of ceremonial and observance, and have divided the rural society. There is no reason, fortunately, to believe that the forces of reform will not ultimately win the victory. But it is to be noted that the change will probably take a longer period than is sometimes sanguinely expected, for the reason that there is considerably more intellectual difference between the lower and the educated classes in India than in other more homogeneous parts of the world. And while it is taking place the advocates of change in India will enter into a close alliance with workers of a similar character in England, while the Conservatives will be drawn into a similar alliance with the Unionist forces in this country. Also, as I have said before, conditions have up to the present been such that the public have only been able to form a very erroneous estimate of the strength of Conservative feeling in India. It is well for reformers to remember this, since it will save them considerable disappointment in the future. Early this year the attitude of many of the leaders of educated reform in India in connection with the Factory Act, even of those who had no interest in the mill industry, served to show that the gulf which exists between the well-to-do and the poor, the modern and the medieval, must be reckoned as "a political reality as well as a social and intellectual one. The growth of modern company capitalism as opposed to the family, semi-feudal, and almost patriarchal capitalism of the old times which are now passing, will also serve to draw the new managing type closer to the similar type in England than to the awakening working class, self-conscious,

and the waning landlord interest, which is always so anti-thetic and antipathetic to the factory controlling brain. And it is the latter type which is likely to command the greatest public attention for the next few years.

India has been during the past century always an exporter of raw materials and is, I think, always likely to remain pre-eminently so. But the large profits to be made on raw materials are quite unknown to the modern Indian, and the consequence is that for some years to come a disproportionate amount of the new savings of the people and of the old hoards is likely to go into factories, to the neglect of the far more important matter of the improvement and modernization of agriculture and land produce. Public opinion will, therefore, aid the factory, and its principal difficulty will be in inducing the wealthier people to adventure their hoards in enterprises.

It is also well in this connection to consider the effect of the multiplication of the investing class in India. That class is always likely to be of a Conservative tendency, though as it grows in wealth it may produce an occasional revolutionary of the violent type, as even the Parsees have done in Bombay. But, as a whole, it will be a considerable influence, and, so far as it can organize, will control a strongly Conservative platform. With the rise of the country above the extreme poverty line, the numbers of investors will very largely increase, and the frugality of the peasant is so pronounced that it is quite evident a class of small investors will spring up of the same class as the *rentiers* of France, whose influence upon political development there during the past thirty years has proved so potent and yet so completely unexpected. It therefore becomes necessary to consider the prospects of such an investing public establishing itself in India. At present it may be said generally that nothing is hoarded by the petty farmer or the labourer. He is usually in debt to the money-lender, and his main anxiety is to prevent the forfeiture of his holding by the Government for non-payment of the land revenue.

The lower middle class of the towns is usually living up to its income and occasionally overlapping it; but the money-lenders and the various dealers and middlemen, both of the towns and of the rural districts, must make large savings every year. It is they who probably absorb the huge total of precious metal which disappears into India every year. The chief aspect of the situation is that at present they do not invest largely in industrial undertakings, and the difficulty is to show them that it is to their own advantage and the advantage of the country to do so. It is not the drain to England that is keeping India in poverty at the present time so much as the withholding of these savings from investments in industries, and, even better than that, in the improvement of agriculture. It was over three years ago that Sir Ernest Cable, a leading merchant of Calcutta, wrote to the *Times* to suggest that it is surely worth while making an effort to utilize some, at least, of the dormant resources for the benefit of the people. This is a wise suggestion, and one that needs to be taken up. Nothing has been done yet, however, on an organized and effective scale to enlist the aid of these stores of wealth in the development of the country. The main difficulty seems to be that of finding who it is that possesses these hoards, and then of prevailing upon them that it is better to get even a 5 or 6 per cent. upon their savings than to let them lie unproductively in the shape of bullion. It has been objected that in any case it is impossible to expect that money-lenders and grain-dealers, who make anything from 50 to 75 per cent. on loans to their poorer neighbours, will consent to put their money instead into enterprises which yield so much more moderate a figure of profit, but this overlooks the fact that the rich man does not lay up a hoard from moneys which he could easily loan out at usurious interest. The district he controls soon reaches a saturation point in the quantity of money it can borrow or the amount of grain that there is to be moved. It is the profit beyond that figure which is laid

away by the purchase of bullion. And it is that money which could be obtained for investment. It is no good hoping to obtain the working capital of such classes for industrial or railway purposes, but only the savings over and above that amount. The chief difficulty, as has been said, is to find the whereabouts and extent of those stores of convertible metal. Nothing has been done hitherto in absence of a workable plan. Indeed, the author has only heard of one such scheme that seemed to promise anything like success. It is a plan which holds out considerable prospect of success, and the only reason it has not hitherto been attempted is probably because it has not been brought to the attention of those financiers who are sufficiently alive to the importance of the probable results to conduct the preliminary operations needed before success can be looked for. But the details of the scheme lie beyond the scope of this paper.

And after the present money-saving classes had been converted into investors, the process would spread to the lower ranks in accordance as they are raised from abject serfdom by the newly established co-operative credit societies and the proposed agricultural banks. The result will be the growth of a great *rentier* class of even more assured stability than the French, since the Indian is by nature, and in spite of exceptions, a man of few wants and of a harshly drilled frugality of life. The rise of investment must not, therefore, be ignored in the estimate of India's future, though it will exert its influence sooner or later in accordance with the adoption or non-adoption of means to hasten its advance.

Now no one will deny the existence of the ties already mentioned, and many others, binding India and England. But objectors will urge that all of them will be swamped and overborne by the purely racial and dynastic struggle. Such would certainly happen if India were to be always ruled as it was up to five or six years ago. If that were to happen, a struggle would ultimately develop on the lines of

the Russian, and partially on the lines of the South American, wars of a century ago. The struggle would end as the Russian has done with the defeat of the Liberal party and the impairment of the strength of the country as a whole. But there is no reason to believe in such a prospect. The structure of the British Empire is so fundamentally democratic that tension, so long as it is peacefully exerted, will always release itself in the direction of an increase of the popular voice in Government. The slow accommodation of the method of Government to the increasing intelligence of the people must occur in India without any retarding explosion, both on account of the more or less democratic spirit of the rulers and also the quiet, accommodating and rational spirit of the bulk of the people. As individuals, we would all wish to be kings if we could, or, if we are sluggishly disposed, we would wish to be deposed rulers in enjoyment of a pension from our successors; but, provided nothing is done to damage our self-respect, we are most of us content to fill a sphere of life much less exalted and a great deal more onerous. In the same way, the bulk of Indian opinion which has troubled to think about the matter at all would desire the country to be a free and autonomous one; but they recognize that the facts of history cannot be disregarded, nor can they help but see that the removal of one foreign dominion would be followed by the imposition of another of considerably less desirable a character. The dream is placed on one side, therefore, just as the Englishman of to-day puts on one side the expectation that Canada and Australia can be ruled absolutely and unquestionably by a Parliamentary Committee in Westminster. There is regret, no doubt, but a regret that is tempered by the reflection that the lines of destiny, at least, run along a course that can be made both broad and generous.

For, after all, the British Empire is the biggest fact in the world to-day. It is a consideration which the Englishman nowadays is liable to overlook under alternate waves

of self-depreciation and over-laudation, with its subsequent reaction of doubt. In slowly winning to a higher position in that consolidation, the Indian will have scope for his activity and food for his enthusiasm. There will also be material for his altruism. The path will be a difficult one, for at each stage there will be the urgings of the impatient and the ill-balanced that the progress is too slow, and that other ideals should be adopted. The Englishman will find it equally difficult. It is well for us to consider his position also. It is a hard and at times a bitter work to forfeit elements of supreme autocracy. It is especially difficult to do so when one knows oneself to be in possession of sufficient power to retain that control should one wish to do so. And this bitterness arises not so much from the actual forfeiture as from the gibes of the few—not of the many—that the change is due to a declension of racial vigour, or to apprehensions of the probability of retaining the old authority. It is because the existence of this feeling is so well recognized by the responsible leaders of Indian opinion that the recent expansion of the Indian Councils has been unattended by the rowdiness and the childish absurdities of the Egyptian experiment. So long as the two parties continue to understand one another, and the expansion of function proceeds at a pace at which all sides can accommodate themselves to the change, the development of India under the Crown will continue along lines of increasing peace and prosperity.

And the point of altruism? The British Empire is the only consolidation of the present day which combines on a large scale races of two colours under one system of government. It is the supreme laboratory in which is being attempted the experiment of organising immiscible societies in one organization. Should that experiment succeed to the equal satisfaction of both parties, a great battle will have been gained in the cause of the world's peace, and in the prevention of a future in which the globe will be divided into free and semi-servile races, occasionally checkered by

fruitless and sanguinary servile risings. With the development of the world we are seeing more plainly every day the narrowness and instability of the nineteenth-century ideal of the multiplication of little nations. Such organizations lead to waste, limitation, and the prospect of continual wars and dictatorships. Instead we are working to the ideal of forming the biggest aggregations of people that the organizing ability of mankind can admit. To throw away that ideal in connection with India, or to base it on force rather than consent, will be to perpetuate the divisions of mankind, and to lead us a step nearer to the era of race wars, which would be as destructive to Asia as the religious wars of the seventeenth century were to Europe. To this consideration there will also appear the further one to the Englishman, that upon the successful working out of our present policy in India on commonsense lines, neither too visionary in the direction of reform, nor in the direction of reaction, depends the possibility of absorbing into the Eastern Empire the country of Arabia, which must ultimately fall from the control of the Osmanli Turks. The absorption of that country, only little smaller in size than India, is by no means an impossibility of the future. The progress of India, in spite of the jeremiads and the revolutionary literature, is taking a course that is both settled and definite. And it is true of nation-building, as of everything else, that unto him who hath shall be given, and from him who hath not shall be taken away.

“INDIA AND HER PRESENT NEEDS.” *

BUT for a great superfluity of commas the opening pages of this small pamphlet are useful, and even sometimes illuminating; and if the author could have stuck to “admitted facts or admitted solutions” (p. 2), the latter part might have been equally profitable.

Perhaps the most interesting passage of all is the extract on p. 16, from what Mr. Sashagiri Rao calls the great historical document addressed to the Emperor Aurengzeb, by “one of the noblest Rajput princes that had ever adorned an Indian throne, Rana Raj Sing, Maharana of Udaipur.” We should have to go back to the story of Nathan and David to find such an outspoken rebuke addressed to a suzerain or superior.

On p. 18 Mr. Sashagiri Rao observes that the adoption by Mahommedans of India as their permanent home led to a community of interests in all the activities of life between them and other “communities.” There lay the strength, and also the weakness, of Mahommedan rule. He very sensibly reminds his readers of Macaulay’s warning words, that “We ought to compare India under our Government, not with India under Akbar and his immediate successors, but with India as we found it;” and adds that “India’s gratitude to Fortune for being transferred from the sway of the Mogul to the sway of the English has become the most

* “India and her Present Needs,” by B. Sashagiri Rao. Madras : Higginbotham and Co.

solid foundation on which her claim to the respect and sympathy of her present rulers is based."

"From the period of rule by the East India Company began the improvement of Indian society in all respects, *except its material condition*. In the words of an eminent Indian administrator, 'Englishmen have conferred on the people of India what is the greatest human blessing—peace. They have introduced Western education, bringing an ancient and civilized nation in touch with modern thought, modern sciences, modern institutions and life. They have built up an administration which, though it requires reform with the progress of the times, is yet strong and efficacious. They have framed wise laws, and have established Courts of Justice, the purity of which is as absolute as in any country on the face of the earth.'"

Whether our author is right in saying that the country has *not* improved in its material condition is still a moot point; and it must be admitted that there is no longer any systematic inquiry into the conduct of the Government of India except through the Press.

Mr. Sashagiri Rao says rightly enough that "the *direct* conduct of Indian Government by the English democracy is unsuited to the Indian type of mind"; and, fortunately, such direct control is impossible. He complains that "Ministerial responsibility, so far as India is concerned, is a reality only to the extent to which the Indian Secretary's sense of rectitude and his power of wisdom and foresight are also a reality." But what better security could we have than the character of a responsible Minister specially chosen for the office, and kept in check not only by his Council, but also by the Parliament, the Press and the Permanent Officials?

It is a mistake now to speak of the "dominion of one branch of the great Aryan race over another branch." Even the so-called conquest of India was a joint enterprise of the two races, and the Government of the country is only possible by the cordial co-operation of the two.

So far, as we have said before, the pamphlet is quite illuminating ; but when we get to the author's criticism of the existing system the value of the work deteriorates rapidly, and we have all the old unfounded assertions hashed up again as if they had never been refuted.

Unfortunately, the practice of all our critics, including the most indefatigable of them all, Mr. Hyndman, is to repeat the statements in the self-same words, and never to notice what is said on the other side, the gist of the complaint being always the same, that the greatest part of the material burden of India consists of what are called the "home charges" (p. 29). Mr. Sashagiri Rao gives the details of these charges very fully, but fails to give the amount debitable to each item, as was done in Leaflet No. 1 of the East India Association, dated August, 1910 ("The Truth about the 'Drain'"). Assuming, in the absence of any proof or even, (as far as we know,) assertion to the contrary, that those figures were approximately correct at the time they were published, it will be seen that the interest on the debt of India amounted roughly to about half the home charges, and Mr. Sashagiri Rao very properly devotes his attention chiefly to that item, showing how it has gradually increased from 7 millions in 1792 to 69½ millions in 1858. Now he says that "this colossal debt" (it was about one year's income then) was "not capital spent by England either for the conquest and administration of India, or for the development of her resources, but arose from the yearly deficits" and incapacity to meet the annual recurring home charges, including the cost of all the wars waged and the 10 millions spent on the Mutiny. He seems to complain that India should have to pay these charges, and, of course, it is open to anyone to say that much of the money was wasted ; but that is the case with all Governments, and it does not appear that the English people could fairly be asked to pay for the privilege of defending and developing India, for, *pace* Mr. Sashagiri Rao, even the East India Company spent considerable sums of money in protecting

and developing the resources of India, as he will see by reference to Mr. McMinn's monumental paper, "The Wealth of India: Facts and Fictions," read before the East India Association on December 1, 1908, and published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* on January 1, 1909. No one who has not dealt fully with Mr. McMinn's facts and figures has any right to pose as an ultimate authority on the fiscal history of India. Mr. Sashagiri Rao, indeed, asserts that a "substantial part of the home debt arose from the prosecution of English purposes *unconnected with Indian interests*;" but he gives no figures, and assertions are not proofs. Nor does he say what "the equitable demands of India" are (p. 31).

We come now to the remedies he suggests, the first being a great extension of the Permanent Settlement for which he makes out a very good case, but which is too threadbare a question to discuss in a short paper like this. We quite agree that the expenditure on periodical settlements is a grievous "burden on the public revenue," and a still more grievous "source of annoyance and vexation to the people," which ought to be got rid of by hook or by crook — permanent settlement or not. It must not be supposed, however, that there has been no creation of property in ryotwari districts. The value of land in the Tinnevely District, for instance, has gone up from nothing at all in 1820 (when there was no peace or security for property) to Rs. 1,000 an acre in 1870, and to Rs. 3,000 now, in spite of an assessment which has lately been raised to Rs. 22½ (30s.) an acre. It is also grossly misleading to imply that all classes would benefit by a permanent settlement (p. 35). They certainly did not in Bengal. Lastly, his suggestion of an Income Tax (p. 39) as a substitute for the Land Revenue would hardly be welcomed in India; and he quite ignores the widely-accepted view that the land of every country should belong to the State, as it does in India, and that it is obviously the best source of revenue.

The next remedy suggested is "Protection for Struggling Industries," for which also a good deal might be said ; but, unfortunately, the protection is to be against England ; and personally we doubt if such protection would not do more harm than good, even to the manufacturers themselves. Moreover, the experience of many mills—*e.g.*, those of Messrs. Harvey in the south of India—shows that it is skill and enterprise that is wanting far more than protection. As to preventing the export of raw materials, it is difficult to imagine a more unjust and even absurd suggestion. Why are the producers of tea, coffee, jute, etc., to be selected for penal treatment and have their business dislocated by a prohibitory export duty ?

Lastly, we have the great "economic drain" again (p. 42), and a bold assertion that it is one of the co-operative causes of Indian poverty ; and yet Indian imports have risen equally with her exports, and now amount to the very substantial sum of 115 millions, in spite of an import duty on most goods. Mr. Sashagiri Rao evidently thinks that cheap foreign goods intended for the use of the poorer classes should be *excluded altogether* (at the sacrifice, incidentally, of the Customs revenue), in order to bolster up inferior methods of production, which will never improve without competition. For "valuable" (on p. 44) it would be truer to read "played out." It is impossible to stem the tide of mechanical progress. The English handloom weavers were ruined in precisely the same way, but their successors are far better off ; and though wealth is not fairly distributed even yet in any country, it is generally believed that the working classes are better off on the whole than they were a hundred years ago, although to this, again, Mr. Hyndman would object (with some show of reason), and there is precisely the same *bonâ fide* difference of opinion as to the condition of the masses in India.

Mr. Sashagiri Rao's third great reform concerns the Judicial Service, and it is interesting to note *en passant* that he selected Delhi as the seat of his proposed Supreme

Court of Appeal before it was made the new capital of India.

To remedy the sufferings resulting "from the imperfections of the existing civil and criminal law of India, and from the disposal by administrative and political officers of matters that cannot appropriately fall within the province of judicial tribunals," Mr. Sashagiri Rao proposes to establish an Indian section of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This section is to sit in India, and to be the highest Court of Appeal for the disposal of all judicial causes, and all those causes of a political nature now disposed of by the Viceroy and by the Governors of Madras and Bombay in their purely political capacity. He does not set forth in detail what "the sufferings" are that will be alleviated by the creation of such a Court, but the establishment of a Supreme Court of Appeal does not in itself seem unreasonable, and would certainly be in accordance with the trend of modern administration. But it would also certainly render the Privy Council supreme in political matters, and it is not easy to see what work, or influence, or responsibility would remain in this direction for the Viceroy and the Governors in Council.

Mr. Sashagiri Rao further proposes that this tribunal should examine into the character and conduct of those native princes and chiefs whose abuse of power, and whose incapacity to realize the responsibilities of their station, render them unfit to be entrusted with responsible administrative functions. This would, of course, at once render the Privy Council supreme in the government of these princes, and one great advantage of the scheme, he declares, is the opportunity thereby created for the employment of "the unrivalled scholarship, profound knowledge of law, habitual faculty of appreciating evidence, great social and moral influence in Indian society, *all of which are possessed by our retired Indian Judges of the High Court*" (!)

The general conclusion Mr. Sashagiri Rao arrives at is that the best way to symbolize the Over-lordship of the

King and to commemorate His Majesty's Coronation as Emperor would be—(1) an impartial scrutiny into the source of the Indian debt, with a view to the partial relief of the Indian taxpayers at the expense of the British; (2) the extension of the Permanent Settlement throughout British India; (3) the adoption of a fiscal policy to stimulate and favour Indian industries; (4) the institution of a Supreme Court of Appeal; (5) a Scheme for the active participation of the native Indian princes in the common concerns of the Indian Empire as a whole.

Mr. Sashagiri Rao does not pause to prove under No. 1 his assertion that "the Indian Debt was created as much for England's benefit as for the benefit of India," nor does he explain under No. 3 who is to determine the limits of the protection policy he advocates, nor how, under No. 5, native chiefs are to be "disciplined" into becoming "statesmen," so as to "surround the King-Emperor, and to assist him in promoting the common well-being of the ancient Indian Empire, and in restoring it to a "position of glory."

Mr. Sashagiri Rao's tone throughout is loftily loyal, and his English excellent. He is evidently anxious to get his fellow-countrymen to "*think*," and to think on right lines. He is a fearless critic, but pre-eminently fair, and his general conclusions as to the attitude of India might be summed up in the words of Sir William Wedderburn :

"The educated classes recognize that the British Rule is a necessity. They know that under existing conditions India cannot stand alone, and that the only other alternatives are Russian Rule or Anarchy."

They do not, therefore, share the views of Mr. Hyndman and the few extremists following him in their desire to put an immediate end to British Rule in India.

TIBETAN MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS, ETC.,
COLLECTED DURING THE YOUNGHUSBAND
MISSION TO LHASA.

BY L. A. WADDELL, LL.D., C.B.

Archæologist to the Mission.

THE huge collection of rare, and, in many instances, hitherto unknown Tibetan manuscripts and books, which I collected for the Government during Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission to Lhasa, forms by far the largest and richest collection of Tibetan literature which has ever reached Europe. It was amassed under exceptionally favourable circumstances for acquiring rare manuscripts and volumes otherwise unobtainable; and it was described at the time when it was displayed in Calcutta as "bespeaking infinite care and prodigious labour in collecting."*

The collection has now been broken up and dispersed amongst several of the great national libraries in England—those of the British Museum, India Office, Oxford and Cambridge Universities. But no account whatever of this rich addition to our stores of material for the study of Buddhism and of the early history of India as well as Tibet has yet been published, beyond a few incidental references in my, "Lhasa and its Mysteries." Nor has any clue been given to the particular libraries to which the material has been assigned, to enable students and others

* *Englishman* (Calcutta), March 10, 1905.

interested in these subjects to trace the volumes and so utilize the new material.

It has therefore been suggested to me that Orientalists generally, and students of Buddhism and of the history of Ancient India and Central Asia in particular, would be grateful to learn what the general character of my collection is, and to have for reference a list of the chief works and the libraries to which each has been presented.

I accordingly place these particulars on record here, from the provisional lists which I compiled in Tibet, supplemented by further details kindly supplied by Dr. F. W. Thomas in regard to the portion of my collection which was allotted to the India Office Library, and by Dr. Barnett and Miss Ridding in respect to the volumes sent to the British Museum and Cambridge University.

The present list also possesses, I believe, a certain permanent value by exhibiting, as is nowhere else to be found, the wide range, interest and importance of Tibetan literature, as an authentic source of early Oriental history.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF TIBETAN LITERATURE.

It is not generally known that the Tibetan tongue is the great literary language of Central Asia, like what the Latin was in medieval Europe ; and that it is the vehicle which has preserved much of the early history of India and Indian Buddhism otherwise lost in India itself. This latter fact invests Tibetan literature with a wider importance than it could otherwise claim and stimulates the search for further Tibetan material of historical or scientific interest.

Especially has the Tibetan preserved for us early Sanskrit Buddhist texts, of which the originals have been mostly lost in India. The Tibetan translations of these texts, as tested by the few surviving Sanskrit fragments, display such scrupulous literal accuracy, even down to the smallest etymological detail, as to excite the admiration of all modern scholars who have examined them. Thus their authoritativeness is placed beyond dispute.

The Tibetan translations thus afford, along with the less precise Chinese and Japanese translations of the same texts, invaluable means of controlling and supplementing the less detailed Pāli versions of the early Buddhist Canon and Commentaries; and so impart to us a more correct knowledge of Buddha and his doctrine than has been forthcoming from Ceylonese sources, which until recently have been too implicitly relied upon.

Nor is the Tibetan material restricted to religious subjects. It contains great repositories of ancient Vedic lore and myth of interest to students of ethnology, also special treatises on old world philosophy, grammar, logic, rhetoric, mathematics and astrology, alchemy, medicine and geography, and embedded in it is a considerable amount of political history in regard to India and other border countries.

POVERTY OF TIBETAN MATERIAL IN BRITISH LIBRARIES.

Hitherto, until my large collection was forthcoming, the British libraries, notwithstanding our predominant political interests and responsibilities in Indian history, held the unworthy position of being, in the matter of Tibetan material, the poorest of all amongst the great libraries of Europe. The India Office Library, perhaps the richest in Oriental manuscripts, and the most accessible to scholars, had its Tibetan collection "confined almost entirely to the copies of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* [the Buddhist Canon and Great Commentary] presented by Brian H. Hodgson." The Asiatic Society of Bengal, which had received a set of the Canon from the same generous donor, whilst Political Resident in Nepal, had lost many of the more important volumes. The British Museum, much poorer still, possessed neither of these essential series and "little more than a few leaves torn from some of the larger texts."* Whilst the libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, and the Royal Asiatic Society had still less.

* G. Sandberg in *Statesman* (Calcutta), 1891.

By the accessions, however, of my extensive collection, amounting to over 300 mule loads of volumes, comprising many rare, and several hitherto unknown works, this unenviable position has been reversed. The British collection now is, perhaps, outside Tibet, China, and St. Petersburg, the richest in the world ; and this, indeed, forms one of not the least solid results of the Mission of Sir Francis Younghusband.

HOW THE COLLECTION WAS MADE.

When, in the summer of 1908, the Political Mission was being formed to proceed to Tibet, I represented to the Government of India the unique opportunity offered by the Mission for procuring from that closed land those manuscripts and books so greatly required by Western scholars for the ancient history of India, and in which our great libraries were so notoriously deficient. Again in the autumn, when I was appointed to the medical charge of the Mission Escort Force, I renewed my representation, and volunteered to undertake gratuitously the work of searching for and collecting the necessary volumes, in addition to my medical duties.

My proposals met with the active support of Colonel (now Sir Francis) Younghusband, who kindly facilitated, whenever possible, my access to the monasteries and edict pillars ; and they were formally agreed to by Government in January, 1904. By the month of May in that year, I had amassed the greater part of the collection, for circumstances subsequently became unfavourable for procuring many additions. Whilst I was engaged in cataloguing the volumes I was greatly gratified to find that another worker in the field of Tibetan literature was also arousing action in the matter. Dr. F. W. Thomas, the well-known Sanskritist and Librarian of the India Office, addressed, in the spring of 1904, a scholarly memorandum to the Government of India, urging the importance of searching for such material. Although his representation arrived in India too late to

materially assist in increasing the collection, his action strengthened the interest of the Government in the matter, and contributed towards procuring for me the necessary clerical assistance which I sorely needed for aid in handling and opening the bulky packages, cataloguing, labelling, and packing them up for transport down to India. Professor C. Bendall (since deceased) also addressed the Government similarly in the interests of his own University (Cambridge). This action, taken by these two gentlemen in England, was a source of much encouragement to me on the spot, as showing that two of the foremost Sanskritists of the day fully appreciated the importance of the laborious self-imposed task I had undertaken in the interests of Science.

At the same time it is remarkable that on such a unique occasion like the present expedition it should have been left to the mere chance initiative of one or more enthusiastic private individuals whether the exceptionally favourable opportunity should be seized advantage of or be irretrievably lost. Similarly, too, in the Chitral Expedition of 1895 into the Greco-Bactrian region on the northern frontier of India, it was left to my personal initiative and action to secure for the Indian Government those several hundreds of beautiful Greco-Buddhist sculptures, dating to the opening centuries of our era, which now adorn the Calcutta and Peshawar Museums; and which are in themselves of high importance for Indian history, and in the development of Indian art. That such rare opportunities should not be lost it seems desirable that there should be within our learned societies a more efficient intelligence department, as in the continental Academies, on the outlook to utilize such opportunities as may arise for the advancement of knowledge within their respective spheres.

Every single volume of this huge Tibetan collection was selected with my own hands—none were contributed from any other source. The labour involved in the process of searching for and selecting the ponderous books was immense, and can only be appreciated by those who have

attempted such a task. The volumes, I soon found, could not be taken at random, as the great majority of the manuscripts and books current in Tibet proved to be merely duplicates of some half-dozen already well-known ritualistic works ; but these were in such endless variety of shapes and sizes that they had to be carefully excluded from my collection, in order to avoid encumbering myself with useless redundant material. As each Tibetan volume forms a bulky and heavy bundle of loose sheets, usually over 2 feet long, and weighing from three or four to twenty pounds, and wrapped in several folds of cloth, and this again is strapped between heavy wooden boards, the process of handling these ponderous packages, and untying them to examine their title and contents and retying the bundles was no easy matter, and consumed a vast amount of my time. Especially will this be realized when it is remembered that I performed this task in the intervals of my professional duties, and under the stress of marching with a considerable army fighting its way through, what was then, a hostile country. Added to this was the task of safeguarding and arranging for the transport of the packages. Then there were the many days consumed during the halts in reopening the bundles to scan their titles and roughly catalogue and label them, and sort them out for distribution to the different libraries between which I was directed to divide the collection ; and eventually came the final packing into mule-loads for transport over the mountainous passes down to India.

No little personal risk, even, was at times involved in the search for volumes, under the exigencies of an active military campaign. Some of the volumes were rescued by my hands from destruction in burning buildings within fortified posts which had been set on fire by retreating Tibetan soldiery ; and in more than one of these, in the search for manuscripts, I had to run the gauntlet of exploding boxes of gunpowder. On the other hand, the volumes proved serviceable as defences. I found that a barricade of some of

these ponderous tomes, with their thick wooden covers, actually stopped a cannon ball from penetrating within my shelter, whilst we were besieged and stormed at Gyantse.

EXTENT OF THE COLLECTION.

As a result of this search, I am pleased to be able to record that I have secured for the national libraries nearly two thousand volumes of books and manuscripts, comprising several thousand distinct treatises. The three sets of the great Canon (Item No. 1 on List) alone contain over two thousand distinct works. Of the many hundreds of non-canonical books a large proportion are very rare, and several altogether unknown to Europeans. In the collection, besides (1) the Books—MSS. and printed—I also included (2) Paintings, religious and mythological, and (3) Epigraphic historical material, including an important inscribed tablet *—I also took rubbings and eye copies of the ancient edicts on the old monuments at Lhasa—which proved to contain hitherto unknown records of great historical importance, and, in themselves, the oldest Tibetan documents known; these I have fully edited and translated; † also some Images and Ethnographic material.

The richness of the present accretion in books will be evident on referring to the extent of Tibetan literature previously known to Europeans, the fullest accessible general summary of which is contained in my "Buddhism of Tibet," pp. 154, etc.

THE BOOKS.

The books formed by far the most bulky part of my collection. In recording here particulars of them, I adhere to the classification under which I provisionally arranged

* Containing an historical account of the founding of Gyantse Fort, and presented, on my recommendation, to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, as a fine specimen of lithic inscription.

† *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, pp. 923-952, 1247-1282; 1910, 69-86; 1911, 389-435.

them for the purpose of registration at the time of collecting them in Tibet. This was as follows :

- A. BUDDHIST Books, Manuscript and printed, including (1) the Canonical Scriptures ; (2) Commentary Scripture Classics ; (3) Various separate texts translated from the Indian Sanskrit ; (4) Tibetan indigenous compositions. (Items, Nos. 1-330 on List.)
- B. BON (or pre-Buddhist religious cult) Books. (Items, 331-334 on List.)
- C. HISTORIES, Secular and Religious ; Biographies of Kings and great Lamas. (Items, Nos. 335-440.)
- D. "SCIENCE"—Medicine, Mathematics, Astrology, Geography, and Topography. (Nos. 441-455.)
- E. LEXICONS and Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, and Music. (Nos. 456-464.)

The manuscripts comprise about one-fourth of the total volumes, and are of the well-known form, as described in my "Buddhism of Tibet," pp. 156, etc. The printed books are technically *xylographs*—that is, printed from carved wooden blocks, a method stated to have been invented by the Chinese about the sixth century A.D., and in general use in the tenth century.* Movable type is still unknown in Tibet.

Many of the manuscripts are beautiful specimens of elegant caligraphy, a large number being written in golden letters on a dark blue or black ground, with decorated and illuminated title pages. Some of them contain painted miniatures of the Buddhas, saints, and divinities. One of the finest sets of these illuminated manuscripts in twenty-nine large volumes (Set No. 5 of the List) was presented by me out of my own private collection to the India Office Library, where the volumes have safely arrived. The rest of my private collection, however,

* E. B. Tylor, *Anthropology*, 180 ; H. A. Giles, *Glossary*, 229.

was less fortunate, as all, except half a dozen volumes, was lost on the journey back from Tibet.

The *covers* of many of the volumes are massive wooden slabs profusely carved and richly gilded so as to form artistic objects in themselves. The details of their decoration represent various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas embedded in a mass of ornate scrolls and mystic symbols.

The *character* in which the language is written is that generally known as "Tibetan," which was the particular form of the Sanskrit alphabet or *Devanagari*, which was current in mid-India in the seventh century, A.D., when Tibet first obtained its Buddhism from India, and with it their present writing, which they have ever since preserved unaltered, as described in my "Buddhism of Tibet."* From that epoch dates, the Tibetans themselves assert, the first reduction of their language to writing. There is reason to believe, however, that the Tibetans must have used writing before this epoch. For already, half a century earlier, we find from the Chinese annals that the Tibetans were a great organized and warlike nation, enforcing considerable respect from China, and so advanced in civilization as to lead us to presuppose the existence of some kind of writing. What that archaic character may have been is not at present known, but it was probably of the pictorial hieroglyphic type from which the Chinese letters were evolved. Traces of this archaic pictorial writing still survive, carved upon slips of wood, bone, or written on sheets of paper, amongst the wild Moso tribes of Tibetan stock on the Chinese frontier adjoining the south-eastern border of Tibet, as detailed by Lacouperie and others.† I made especial inquiry for such pre-Buddhist scripts at Lhasa and

* See also my article in *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1911, pp. 64, 65.

† *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia*, 1894; Captain Gill, *River of Golden Sand*, 1880, Introduction, 90-92; Prince Henri d'Orléans, *Tonkin to India*, 1898, 447, etc. Recently Mr. G. Forrest obtained in 1910 eight books in this hieroglyphic character from one of the Moso tribes on the Yunnan-Szechuan frontier, and has, through Prof. Parker, kindly sent me photographs of some of the leaves for examination.

elsewhere without result. A search amongst the remoter tribes of south-eastern Tibet is more likely to prove successful.

The *language* of all the books is Tibetan. No Sanskrit manuscripts were seen, but some of the treatises contain bilingual references or notes in Tibetan and Sanskrit.

The *topics* of the books are mainly religious and Buddhist as was to be expected, though a very considerable number are devoted to historical and secular subjects, as is indicated in the above noted divisions.

A. BUDDHIST BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

The Buddhist texts belong almost entirely to the "Greater Vehicle," or *Mahāyāna*, a much abused school, which, however, is now coming to be recognized as having been the dominant type of Buddhism in India during the most popular period of that religion, and to this type belongs the Lamist form of that faith.

The "words" (*sūtras*, or sermons), which are here ascribed to Buddha, are nearly all of the "expanded" or *Mahāvaiṣṭhavya* form, which as a class are posterior in date to the simple *sūtras*. But, as shown by Kern,* "the *Mahāvaiṣṭhavya* are partially made up of such material as can be referred to the *oldest period* of Buddhism," and it is on this account and from their fuller details that they are so invaluable in supplementing and correcting the more fragmentary Pāli versions.

Three fresh sets of the Tibetan translation of the great Canon of the *Mahāyāna* Buddhists—the *Kā-gyur* or "Translated Word [of Buddha],"† averaging 100 volumes each, and containing 689 distinct treatises (see Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of List), are now provided by me to supplement the single set previously existing in this country—namely, at the India Office. The necessity for additional copies of this series of radically essential Scriptures was long ago felt owing to the

* "Manual of Ind. Buddhism," 4.

† See my "Buddhism of Tibet," pp. 157, etc.

illegibility of many of the leaves, and deficiencies in some of the volumes. "In every volume of the India Office copy there are leaves which, from unskilful printing or from damp in the course of their migrations, are scarcely legible." Moreover, the volumes displayed the defects inherent in all Oriental block prints, in exhibiting, like Oriental manuscripts, uncertainties of text, owing to inaccuracies of the copyists.* In the three fresh sets, one is a fine, beautifully written manuscript, and the other two are prints which appear to have been printed from different blocks from each other, and from the previous India Office copy,† thus offering advantages for a critical edition.

Another set of the great collection of the classical "Commentaries on the Scriptures"—the *Tün-gyur*, or "Translated Explanations,"‡ a vast encyclopædia of Buddhist theology and old-world lore, in 218 volumes, containing over a thousand distinct works (see No. 4 of List), is now made available to supplement the one in the India Office, the deficiencies in the printing and volumes of which, similar in kind to those above noted, rendered an additional set necessary.

Extra to these sets of the great Canon and Commentaries, my collection also provides very numerous separate copies of treatises extracted from these Scriptures. They consist of those particular books on dogmatic theology, or ritual, which were esteemed specially important by the Lamas, and thus more frequently copied. Some are annotated.

Many of these separate texts (Nos. 6-57), some of which are in duplicate or triplicate, are older (some have archaic spelling), and therefore all the more valuable for critical purposes, than the printed edition of the collected Scrip-

* Cf. Rockhill, Introduction to *Udānavarga*, p. vii.

† The India Office copy of both the *Kā-gyur* and *Tün-gyur* state in their colophon that they were printed at Narthang (near Tashilhupo) in a year corresponding to A.D. 1731 (F. W. Thomas in *Memo.*).

‡ Cf. my "Buddhism of Tibet," pp. 164, etc.

tures previously in the India Office Library (the Narthang edition of A.D. 1731). For a recognized collection of the great body of both divisions of the Tibetan Scriptures was already in existence in A.D. 1294, as its index is quoted in detail in the Chinese critical catalogue of the Buddhist Scriptures, which was compiled in that year.*

To facilitate reference to these separate texts I have noted in the last column of my list the particular volume of the Canon or Commentary in which some of the more important texts occur, also the page in Csoma's "Analysis"† (of what seems the same edition as the old India Office copy), and Schmidt's vernacular catalogue‡ of the St. Petersburg edition of the Canon (*Kā-gyur*). The titles of the multitudinous treatises in the great encyclopædic Commentary (*Tān-gyur*)—item No. 4 of List—are now being disclosed by Dr. P. Cordier's catalogue of a set in the National Library in Paris,§ and by Dr. F. W. Thomas.||

The large section of the Scriptures classed as *Tantra* (in Tibetan *rGyud*), literally a "string or chain," hence a systematic treatise, comprises a host of treatises on mystical theology. Composed during the later stages of the Buddhist cult, in the Sivaist phase, these Scriptures are mostly of a ritualistic character, devoted to the worship of a multitude of gods, goddesses, and other female energies, or deified forces of Nature.

For ethnologists these treatises possess especial interest, as they incorporate archaic ritual and early Indian theology of the Vedic age such as is not preserved in Brahmanist works. Some of them shed light on the processes by which Brahmanist as well as Buddhist deities have been evolved, as I have already indicated, and partly utilized, in a recent

* Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue of Chinese Tripitaka*, xxii.

† In *Asiatic Researches*, XX, supplemented by a partial index compiled by Feer in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 2.

‡ *Index des Kanjur*, I. J. Schmidt, St. Petersburg, 1845.

§ Catalogue du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque National, part ii., Paris, 1909.

|| *Deux Collections de Sādhanas in Muséon*, 1903, and *MS. Catalogues*.

article in these pages.* Of this class of treatise the ritualistic manual entitled *Sādhana* (Tib. -sGrub-t'abs), for the conjuring up of the deities, according to mystical Sivaist rites, are especially rich as sources for Buddhist Iconography, as I was the first to point out.† So also are litanies termed *Dhāraṇī* (Tib. -gZungs) which are used as mystical charms. Of these manuals, contained in both Canon and Commentaries, a large number in my collection are in duplicate. The foregoing are almost entirely faithful translations from the Indian Sanskrit, a few only are from the Pāli and Chinese.

The indigenous Tibetan compositions of a Buddhist character are chiefly Commentaries on the Scriptures and on dogmatic theology, and manuals of worship and anthologies or "rosaries" (P'reng-ba), mostly incorporating aboriginal deities upon the Indian Buddhist model. Some of the latter works purport to be divine "revelations" (gTer), and are ascribed to Indian saints and teachers, such as Nāgārjuna, of Central India, and Padma-sambhava of Swat. The majority of those ascribed to Atiṣa and Tsongkhapa were doubtless written genuinely by these monks themselves. The "Biographies" and "Chronicles" (rNam-t'ar = Lives and Memoirs), and the "Collected Speech and 'Sayings' (gSung-'bum)" of the great Tibetan abbots and Grand Lamas, although mainly religious in character, I have classed under "Histories."

BON (OR THE PRE-BUDDHIST CULT) BOOKS.

Works on the Bon or pre-Buddhist cult of Tibet were especially inquired after by me. Hitherto remarkably few of such texts have yet been found by Europeans, and they are essential to a proper understanding of the origin of

* "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1912, pp. 115, etc.

† My "Buddhism of Tibet," p. 326. They have now been brilliantly utilized by M. Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique*, i. and ii., 1900 and 1905; and indexed by Dr. F. W. Thomas (see above footnote).

Lamism, as pointed out in my "Buddhism of Tibet." No professing Bons were met with, as was indeed to be expected, within the area of Central Tibet traversed by the Mission, where the dominant Yellow-cap Lamas of the orthodox Buddhist Church exterminated all Bon establishments several centuries ago. The Yellow-cap Lamas, who wield absolute temporal as well as spiritual power in Central Western Tibet, have even suppressed most of their rival Buddhist sects in this region, so that the Nyingma and other unorthodox sects are relegated for the most part to the more inaccessible tracts, as described by Mr. Rockhill in his "Diary," and in my "Lhasa and its Mysteries."

The few Bon works obtained by me are mostly rituals in use by the less orthodox Buddhist priests, and incorporate aboriginal Bon cults and rites adapted more or less to the Buddhist model. The area within which the Bon religion is still professed is restricted mainly to the extreme north and east of Tibet, outside the territory of the Lhasa Government. Mr. Rockhill encountered several Bon establishments in Eastern Tibet, and a search in those institutions, or amongst their priests, would doubtless unearth many Bon treatises. A good deal of the Bon cult has already been described in my "Buddhism of Tibet."

C. HISTORIES—SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS: BIOGRAPHIES OF KINGS AND GREAT LAMAS.

Historical works, so greatly desired from Tibet, were invariably kept foremost in my mind during all my searches. But they proved to be very rare and difficult to obtain. There is no doubt that Buddhism with its inveterate depreciation of worldly matters, tends to depreciate and extinguish the historical instinct, where it exists, as my friend, the late Regent of Tibet, the Ti Rinpo-ch'e, repeatedly alleged to me, to account for the scarcity of the historical works, such as I was inquiring for, and his inability to procure me copies. The apparent exception in the adjoining Chinese Empire, where the historical instinct is almost as highly developed

as in Europe, and for long in advance of Europe, is not really an exception at all. For China is only superficially Buddhistic, and owes its keen appreciation of historical accuracy to its pre-Buddhist civilization, and largely, perhaps, to the wholesome ethical teaching of Confucius, who elevated the claims of the State into a religion in itself.

Of systematic indigenous histories few probably exist in Tibet beyond those already known.* They are entitled "Religious History" (*Cho's-'byung*), "Succession of Kings" (*rGyal-rabs*), "Chronicles" (*rLo-rgyu*), and "Records" (*Deb-t'er*). In addition to these are the biographies of the great abbots and teachers, of which works I obtained a large number. These consist of "Biographies" proper (*rNam-t'ar*) and "Memoirs or Speeches" (*g.Sung-'bum*).†

As sources of history this latter class of work is invaluable by their reference to contemporary events. The well-informed Russian scholar Vassilief, writing of these ecclesiastical biographies, has said: "*Every one of their biographies must be regarded as precious*, for, failing a history of those regions, we obtain only from these biographies a conception of the chief events and of the character of the several countries. . . . They are, for the most part, collections of important works dealing with either dogmatic or theological criticism, or, finally, the history of Buddhism."‡ My collection is especially rich in these biographies, by Atisha, Tsongk'apa, the founder of the dominant Yellow-cap sect, and his immediate pupils, the Grand Lamas of Tashi-lhunpo and Lhasa and others. There are several editions of the "Autobiography" of the first Buddhist king of Tibet, Srong-btsan Gampo; and several of the "Chronicles of the Kings" (see items Nos. 335, etc.).

* See my "Buddhism of Tibet" for details, 166, etc.

† *Ibid.*, 166-167.

‡ Vassilief, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, ii., 353-355, quoted by Dr. Thomas in *Memo.*

D. "SCIENCE"—MEDICINE, MATHEMATICS, ASTROLOGY,
TOPOGRAPHY.

That class of works embodying the kind of old-world lore which, in the Middle Ages in Europe, passed for "Science," is fairly well represented from Tibet. The Tan-gyur cyclopædia contains several treatises on Alchemy to turn the baser metals into gold, Astrology, and Mathematics, and very numerous works on Medicine; some of these are ascribed to Buddha himself, as "The great Physician."

The separate systematic medical texts contain a history of medicine in Ancient India, and what seems to be a version of the archaic medical classic, the *Āyur-veda*, in four books, (No. 441). A large commentary on the latter is entitled "The blue Lapis-lazuli" (*Vaidūrya ngon-po*, No. 446). It is still the textbook of the present-day medical practitioners of Tibet, and is usually ascribed to the learned Regent of Lhasa, Sangyas Gyam-ts'o, who lived about A.D. 1676-1703. I found, however, no reference to him in my hasty perusal of the colophon, and I have been told by a Lama that the work exists in the Tan-gyur. If this be so it must be of much older date. Both it and the text of which it is a commentary contain much that is technical, and deserve detailed examination. Amongst others is a curious work on the diseases of horses (No. 450); also one on the cult of "The Seven Healing Buddhas" (No. 448), the Buddhist *Æsculapius* and his sons.

On mathematics of an astrological kind there are many treatises in the Tan-gyur cyclopædia, also several other separate works. One of these, in three editions, of which one extends to two large volumes, is "The White *Vaidūrya* Jewel" (No. 451). This also is ascribed to the Regent Sangyas, above mentioned. It contains many diagrams, also passages in Sanskrit. Other treatises are on omens, etc.

E. LEXICONS, GRAMMAR, LOGIC, ETC.

A very large number of works on ancient Indian Logic Rhetoric, Grammar, also bilingual Lexicons in Tibetan and Sanskrit occur in the Tan-gyur encyclopædia (Set No. 4). Separate works also of this class extend from Nos. 457 to 463; including some indigenous treatises on literary composition and poetry. A musical score (No. 464) for chanting sacred airs exhibits archaic notation by means of a succession of wavy lines of varying depth and width of curvature to mark the rise and fall and duration of the notes.

DISPERSAL OF THE COLLECTION.

The breaking up of my collection and its dispersal amongst different libraries is in many ways regrettable. I was officially directed to distribute the material which I had amassed for Government, as above described, between the British Museum, India Office Library, and Oxford and Cambridge Universities, as being the great libraries specially associated with Oriental research in England.

No catalogue or list of these important Tibetan accessions has yet issued from these libraries, nor is any likely to be printed for several years—at least for all the four. Even in such an event, the lists would be scattered over the catalogues of four different institutions, and not easily accessible to students and others interested.

I have, therefore, in the following list, specified after the title the particular library to which the various volumes have been allotted, and the particular number assigned to the work in the manuscript catalogue of that library.

Thus, while this list possesses, it is hoped, permanent value by giving a striking bird's-eye view of the wide field covered by Tibetan literature, it will also enable those who are interested to locate the particular volumes of this fresh mass of Tibetan material, which forms a rich, and in many ways unique, addition to the national collections.

ABBREVIATIONS.

- B. M. = British Museum and its library number.
 c, cc. = chapter, chapters.
 Ca. = Cambridge University and its library number.
 C. A. = Csoma Kőrosi's "Analysis" in *Asiatic Researches*, XX. Calcutta, 1836-1839.
 C. C. = P. Cordier's Catalogue of *Tungur* in La Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris, 1909, part ii.
 cf. = confer.
 col. = colophon.
 Com. = Commentary.
 D. L. = the Dalai Lama, or Grand Sovereign Lama of Lhasa.
 Dh. = *Dhāraṇī*, Ritualistic litany-charm.
 ed. = edition.
 Fe. = Feer's annotated translation of Csoma Kőrosi's "Analysis." Paris, 1881.
 ff. = folios or leaves.
 I. O. = India Office Library and its number.
 J. D. = Jaeschke's Tibetan Dictionary.
 Kā. = the *Kā-gyur* (bkā-'gyur) or "The Great Canon," with reference to volume in I. J. Schmidt's *Index des Kāndjur*. St. Petersburg, 1845.
 K'd. = *Kā-gyur-mDo* or *Sūtra* division.
 K'g. = *Kā-gyur rGyud* or *Tantra* division.
 K'pp. = *Kā-gyur Prajñā-pāramitā* division.
 L. = Lama.
 Lob. = bLo-bzang, a frequent title in Lamas' names.
 Ms. = Manuscript.
 My. = *Mahāyāna* or "Greater Vehicle."
 Ox. = Oxford University Library (Bodleian) and its number.
 P. = *paṇḍita*, title.
 Pan. = the "Pan-ch'en" or "Tashi," Grand Lama of Tashilhunpo.
 P. L. C. = Panchen bLo-bzang C'hos-kyi-gyal-mt'san, a prolific writer, A. D. 1569-1662.
 P. P. = *Prajñā-pāramitā* treatise on Transcendental Wisdom.
 Pr. = print, or technically "block print" or *xylograph*.
 S. = *Sūtra* or Sermon ascribed to the Buddha.
 Sā. = *Sādhana* (T. sGrub-t'abs), Ritual for worship of deities.
 Skt. = Sanskrit.
 Sl. = Slob-dpon or *Guru*, "teacher."
 Syn. = Synonym.
 T. = Tibetan.
 Tg. = *Tan-gyur*, the Great Commentary.
 Ta. = *Tantra*, or mystic treatise.
 Tash. = Tashilhunpo.
 Th. S. = F. W. Thomas "Sādhana's, in Muséon," Louvain, 1903.
 Tr. = Translator or *Lo-tsa-ba*.
 Ts. = Tsongkhapa.
 vol. = volume.
 W. B. T. = L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 1895.

A.—BUDDHIST WORKS.

1. Sets of the Great Collections of Scriptural Texts—The Canons (*Kā-gyur*) and Commentaries (*Tan-gyur*).
2. Separate Scriptural Texts, *Sūtras*, etc., from above.
3. Commentaries and Systematic Treatises—Doctrinal and Dogmatic.
4. Devotional and Homiletic.
5. Theistic Cults and Ritual—Worship of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other Saints, Demons, and Tutelaries, with their Spells—Yoga and Tantrik Mysticism.

1. SETS OF THE GREAT CANON AND COMMENTARIES.

The asterisk (*) indicates the leading title.

- 1.* **The Great Canon of Tibetan Buddhists** [106 vols., B.M., No. "Or. 6724"]. T. bKā-gyur (vulgarly, "**Kang-yur**" or "**Kanjur**"), or "The Translated Word [of the Buddha]."

MS. calligraphic, elegantly written in large letters, with decorated and illuminated title pages; ff. average about 550 per vol., each measuring about 20 × 7 inches or 62 × 17 centimetres. For general contents of the 686 distinct treatises, see No. 2 below.

- 2.* Another set of **The Great Canon** [96 vols., I.O., provisional ref. No. B, 1 (4 vols. were lost in transit). Cf. C.A., 42; W.B.T., 157]. = No. 1 as above. Xylographed or printed from wooden blocks.

It is divided into—

(a) **Discipline**, '*Dul-ba* (Skt. *Vinaya*), 12 vols (K—P).

(b) **Transcendental Wisdom**, '*Ser-p'yi*n (Skt. *Prajñā-pāramitā*), in recensions:

1. In 100,000 verses, '*Bum* (Skt. *Sāla-sahasrikā*), 10 vols. (K—N).

2. In 25,000 verses, '*Nyi-k'ri* (Skt. *Panchaviṃśati-sahasrikā*), 3 vols. (K—G).

3. In 18,000 verses, '*K'ri-brgyad* (Skt. *Aṣṭadasa-sahasrikā*), 3 vols. (K—G).

4. In 10,000 verses, '*K'ri* (Skt. *Dasasahasrikā*), Vol. K.

5. In 8,000 verses, '*brGyad-slong* (Skt. *Aṣṭasahasrikā*), Vol. K.

6. Various abridged abstracts, '*sNa-ts'ogs* (Skt. *Ṭīṣa*), 18 in number.

(c) **Buddhist Congregation**, '*P'al-ch'en* (Skt. [*Buddha*] *vata-saṅgha*), 6 vols. (K—Ch).

(d) **Perfections of the Buddha**—ethical and metaphysical doctrine, entitled "The Jewels-heap"—*dKon-brtsegs* (Skt. *Ratnakūṭa*), 5 vols. (K—Ch).

(e) **Sermons** [of Buddha], '*mDo* (Skt. *Sūtra*), 30 vols. (K—A).

(f) **Deliverance from Misery**, '*Myang-'das* (Skt. *Nirvāṇa*), 2 vols. (K—Kh).

(g) **Systematic Treatises on Mystical Theology**, '*rGyud* (Skt. *Tantra*), 21 vols. (K—Z¹).

(h) **Prayers**, '*sMon-lam* (Skt. *Pravṛtthāna*), ff. 2-3.

(i) **Index**, '*dKar-chag* (Skt. *Suchilipi*), 1 vol.

- 3.* Another set of **The Great Canon** [91 vols., Ox., No. E, 1]. = No. 2 as above. Xylographed.

- 4.* **The Great Commentary of Tibetan Buddhists** [218 vols., B.M. (4 vols. were lent to the Professor of Pali, Presidency College, Calcutta, for reference)].

T. bTan-gyur (vulgarly, "**Tang-yur**" or "**Tanjur**").

Encyclopædic library of ancient Indian lore, arts, alchemy, etc. This fine set of texts has not yet been examined.

- 5.* **Collected Canon of the Ancient [Buddhist] Order of Tibet** [29 vols., I.O., presented by L. A. Waddell].
T. rNying-ma Ch'os.
Magnificent manuscripts, containing several hundred distinct works, beautifully written, illuminated title pages in gilt, with miniature paintings of the Buddhas and Saints. Contents not yet examined.

2. SEPARATE TEXTS FROM THE FOREGOING SCRIPTURES.

- 6.* **Sūtra of "The Good Times"** [1 vol., I.O., E, 4; C.A., 413].
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(3) BODHISATVA AND OTHER DIVINITIES AND SAINTS.

- 174.* **Prayers to the Great Compassionate Vanquisher [of Evil]** [1 vol., B.M., T. 102 (3)]. Pr., ff. 4.
 Skt. Mahākaraṇa [Avalokita] Jina. T. T'ugs-rje ch'en rgyal-ba gsol-'debs. By Lob. Ye-śes ["Pan" = A.D. 1663-1737].
 175.* **Sacrifice to Same** [2 vols., B.M., T. 102 (4 and 5)] (T'ugs-rje ch'en ch'o-ga), by same. Pr., ff. 44.
 176.* **Burnt Offerings to Same** [1 vol., B.M., T. 103 (1)], by same. Pr., ff. 14.
 177.* On Same [15 vols., I.O., K. 61 (a-f)], by same, and 14 other vols. Pr., ff. 14, etc.
 178.* **Worship of Same** [1 vol., Ox., F. 2], as rGyal-ba rgya-mtso (a title of D. L.).
 179.* **The Roaring-Lion Avalokita** [1 vol., B.M., 112 (5)], Simhanāda (T. Senget-Sgra), Worship of. Pr., ff. 13. Cf. my illustration from Indian Sculpture, J.R.A.S., 1894, 76.
 180.* **Tārā** [2 vols., B.M., T. 92, 94 (8)], Adoration of (sGrol ma p'yag-tsal). Pr., ff. 8, 4.
 181.* **The 108 Names of Tārā** [1 vol., I.O., K. 17 (5)]. Pr., ff. 4.
 182.* **Tārā's Worship** [1 vol., B.M., T. 93 (8)], in regard to his Maṇḍala (magic circle). Pr., ff. 8.
 183.* **Mañjuśrī** [2 vols., B.M., T. 87 (4), 93 (19)] (T. Jam-byangs), Worship of, by Ch'os-ldan, Ngag-bang of mTso-'dun Temple [= ? 5th D. L.], based on teaching of "P. [L.] C." Pr., ff. 22, 22.
 184.* **The Names of Mañjuśrī** [1 vol., I.O., K. 17 (27)].
 185.* **Vajrapāṇi** [1 vol., B.M., T. 116] (T. p'yag-na rdo-rje), a ritual of V. and three goddesses. Pr., ff. 32.
 186.* Another [1 vol., B.M., T. 96 (11)] Pr., ff. 8.
 187.* **Gods of Causal Nexus [of Rebirth]** [1 vol., I.O., K. 23 (d)], *Pratitya Samutpada* (T. Tu'n ming-ten-'brel Sgrig-byed lha). Pr., ff. 45.
 188.* **Brahma** [1 vol., B.M., T. 116 (16)] (T. bDag-po-ts'angs-pa grol mch'od). Pr., ff. 10.

- 189.* **Garuda** [1 vol., B.M., T, 95 (10)] (T. K'yang-k'rai Sgrub), to coerce or conciliate. Pr., ff. 3.
 190.* **The Four Elements** [1 vol., B.M., T, 96 (1)] (T. 'Byung-bz'i gtor-ma). Pr., ff. 5.
 191.* **Previous Births of Saints** [1 vol., B.M., T, 102 (1)] (T. K'rungs rab-gsol-'debs), by "Lob." ye-śes.
 192.* **Ritual for Sacrificial Cakes**—gtor-ma [1 vol., B.M., T, 112 (6)] (T. brgya-bz'i cho'-ga). Cf. J. D., 106. Pr., ff. 10.
 193.* Another. Pr., ff. 4.
 194.* **Guru Padma-sambhava** [8 vols., I.O., I, 5] (T. sLob-dpon padme 'byung-gras). In stages: (1 and 2) Purification Rites; (3) Prayers to Guru; (4 and 5) Worship, and Mild and Angry Deities, to "fulfil the happiness of creatures" (gro-bdar skod-pa); (6) Prayer for Wisdom to Mañjuśrī; (7) Confession; (8) Tea-Worship (*ja-mch'od*). MS., ff. 4, 12, 16, 28, 28, 4, 3, 8.
 195.* Another [5 vols., I.O., I, 8]. MSS., ff. 33, 34-60, 60-81, 82-90, 90-105.
 196.* Another [1 vol., B.M., T, 118 (13)]. Pr., ff. 20.

For further Works on Saints, see "Histories" in Section C.

(4) DEMONS, TUTELARIES, AND THEIR SPELLS (*Dhāraṇī*).

- 197.* **Yama** [1 vol., B.M., T, 115 (3)], Judge of the Dead, *Dharmarāja* (T. gSin-rje ch'os-rgyal), Modes of. Pr., ff. 4.
 198.* **Ritual for Same** [1 vol., B.M., T, 114 (4)] (Ch'o-ga), by "Lob." Ye śes, Ch'os smra-bai dge-long of Tash. Pr., ff. 23.
 199.* Another [1 vol., B.M., T, 103 (3)]. Pr., ff. 20.
 200.* Another [1 vol., B.M., T, 115 (4)].
 201.* **Ananda's Visit to the Eighteen Hells**, etc. [1 vol., I.O., K, 24 (a)] (Bya-bral kun-dgā rang-gral mkā'-gro, etc.). Pr., ff. 17.
 202.* **Ananda's Visit to Yama's Hells** [1 vol., I.O., K, 24 (b)]. Pr., ff. 42.
 203.* **Descriptions of the Khroda Fiends' Hells and Purgatories** [3 vols., I.O., K, 25 (a, b, d)] (Khiro-bo bar-do). MS.
 204.* **Prayers to Save from Hell** [1 vol., I.O., K, 25 (c)] (Khiro-bo bar-do ch'os-nyid z'i-ba, etc.). MS., ff. 36.
 205.* **Yamāntaka, Yamāri Bhairava, Vajra-Bhairava** [1 vol., B.M., T, 120 (2)]. Black Yamāri ritual, ascribed to Ts.
 206.* Another [1 vol., B.M., T, 120 (3)].
 207.* Yamāntaka ritual [1 vol., B.M., T, 120 (14)], by Ts.
 208.* Bhairava [1 vol., B.M., T, 93 (10)] (T. 'jigs-byed). Burnt offerings to triad, including *Vajradakṇiṇī*. Pr.
 209-214.* **Vajra Bhairava** [6 vols., B.M., T, 124 (3), 120 (11, 12), 95 (7), 93 (14), 117 (1)] (T. rDo-rje 'jigs-byed). Rituals by Ts. and others. Pr., ff. 17-21, etc.
 215.* Another [2 vols., Ox., H, 12 (1 and 2)]. Pr., ff. 13, 59.
 216.* Another [1 vol., B.M., T, 105 (7)]. Pr., ff. 4.
 217.* **Vajra Bhairava as Ekavira** in *Sādhana*s [3 vols., I.O., I, 11 (5-7)], by P. L. C.
 218.* **Vajra Bhairava** [5 vols., I.O., K, 8 (2, etc.)]. Rituals by D. L., Lob. bskal-bzang.
 219.* **Vajra Bhairava as Yamāntaka** [1 vol., Ca., E (2)]. Pr., ff. 15.
 220-222.* **Vajra Bhairava** [3 vols., B.M., T, 111 (2 and 3), 124 (6)]. Pr. ff. 7, 4, 21.
 223.* **Hayagrīva** [1 vol., B.M., T, 115 (2)] (T. rTa-mgrin bskor). Pr., ff. 4.
 224.* **Samvara** [1 vol., B.M., T, 87 (9)] (T. bDem-ch'og bsduṣ-paṇi bsad) Pr., ff. 251.
 225.* **Samvara** [1 vol., B.M., T, 120 (4)], by Dril-bu-pa. Pr., ff. 13.
 226-228.* **Samvara** [3 vols., B.M., T, 120 (1 and 2), 105 (3)], by Ts. Pr., ff. 37.
 229.* **Samvara** as "Śrī Cakra-s" [1 vol., B.M., T, 105 (6)] (T. 'Kor-lo-sdom-pa). Pr., ff. 15.
 230.* **"Me-tseg"** [3 vols., Ca., E, 6], ? a tutelary.

- 231.* **Tutelary Fiends** [1 vol., B.M., T, 110 (3)]. Offerings to Ts'er-gseb ch'os-skyong gtor, by *Lob. Ye-ses*.
- 232.* **Heruka** as "*Khroda Lalita*" [1 vol., B.M., Or. 6732] (T. K'ro-bo rol-pai ngag-don bdud). MS.
- 233.* **The Great Black Thunderbolt Mahākāla-Vajra** as "Lord fiend *Gur*" [1 vol., B.M., Or. 6738] (T. rDo-rje nag-po ch'en-po gur-gi-mgon-po gtor bzlog). Offering "to turn aside." MS., ff.
- 234.* **Mahākāla** as **Jñānanātha** [1 vol., B.M., T, 103 (4)] (T. Ye-ses mgon-po). Ritual by *Lob. Ye-ses*. Pr.
235. **Mahākāla** as **Jñānanātha** [1 vol., B.M., T, 109 (1)], by dGe-legs dpal-bzang. Pr., ff. 22.
- 236.* **Mahākāla** as Lord of Wishing Jewel *Cintamani* [1 vol., B.M., T, 109] (T. yid-bz'in-nor-bu), Offerings to.
- 237.* **The Four-faced Lord** [demon] [1 vol., B.M., T, 109 (5)] (T. mGon-'chal-bz'i). Pr., ff. 13.
- 238.* A Tutelary's Ritual [1 vol., B.M., T, 110 (2)] (T. ? lehan-srung-gi gtor). Pr., ff. 10.
- 239.* Six-Armed Mahākāla [1 vol., B.M., T, 115 (3)]. Pr., ff. 3.
- 240.* **Vaiśravaṇa** [1 vol., B.M., T, 110 (1)] (T. Nam-sras gtor 'bul), Offerings to. Pr., ff. 13.
- 241.* **Yaksha Kshetrapāla** [1 vol., B.M., T, 114 (2)] (T. gNod-spyin kse-tra-pa-la gtor). Pr., ff. 11.
- 242.* **Kubera** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (41)] (T. Nor-'p'ngs bsrung-z'ing spel-ba).
- 243.* **Gaṇapati** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (42)] (T. Ts'ogs kyi-bdag-po rin-ch'e).
- 244.* **Vasudhārā** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (28)] (T. Nor-rgyün-). *Dh.* for Possession of Riches.
- 245.* **Mahākālī Devi**, *Dh.* [2 vols., I.O., K, 17 (20) (45)] (T. Lha-mo nag-mo che'n-mo).
- 246.* **Īśvari Devi**, *Sā* [1 vol., B.M., T, 109 (4)] (T. dBang-p'yug-ma dmag-zor rgyal-mo'i grub-'abs gtor-ch'og). Pr., ff. 27, etc.
- 247.* **Māricī**, *Sā*. [1 vol., B.M., T, 105 (11)] (T. 'Od-zer-changvi sgrub. Pr., ff. 3.
- 248.* Another [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (12)].
- 249.* **Red Sky-Soarer** (? *Mārīci*, or *Khasarpaṇi*, or *Gandharva*), *Sa*. [1 vol., B.M., T, 120 (5)] (T. mk'ā-spyod-ma-dmar).
- 250.* **Jayavati** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (33)] (T. rGyal-ba-ghan). Pr., ff. 8.
- 251.* **Vijayavati pratyaṃgira** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (34)] (T. p'yir-zhogs-pa rnam-rgyal chan). Transcription, obviously corrupt, reads "*Vijaya-upatana p.*" Pr., ff. 4 = Kg. XIII, C.A., 524 (51).
- 252.* **Uṣṇīṣa Vijayā**, *Dh.* [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (11)] (T. Tsug-tor rnam-par rgyal-ma). Pr., ff. 3. [Tr. from Skt. by Max Müller. *An. Ox.*, 1884].
- 253.* **Uṣṇīṣa Vijayā**, *Dh.* [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (39)] (T. Tsug-tor rnam-par rgyal-ma), by Candragomin. Pr., ff. 10
- 254.* **Uṣṇīṣa Vijayā** [1 vol., Ca., E, 3 (1)].
- 255.* **Uṣṇīṣa (Sita-) Pratyaṃgirā** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (10)] (T. g'Tsug-tor dkar-po'i gzlog-sgyur). Pr., ff. 4.
- 256.* **Uṣṇīṣa (Kṛiṣṇa-)**, *Dh.* [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (24)]. Pr., ff. 6.
- 257.* **Sitātapatra**, *Sā*. [1 vol., B.M., T, 96 (3)] (T. gDugs-dkar chan), by *Lob. Ye-ses*. Pr., ff. 4.
- 258.* **Vajra-Vijayā** [2 vols., I.O., K, 17 (7); B.M., T, 111 (4)] Invincible Thunderbolt (T. rDo-rje rnam-'joms). Pr., ff. 4, 10.
- 259.* **Vajra Tunda** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (17)], Thunderbolt Beak, ? Garuda (rDo-rje'i-mch'u). Pr., ff. 9.
- 260.* **Vajra Nakhara** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (31)], Thunderbolt Claw, ? Garuda Pr., ff. 10.
- 261.* **Vajra Loha-tunda** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (19)], the Iron-Beak Thunderbolt, ? Garuda (T. rDo-rje gnams ichags mch'u). Pr., ff. 4.
- 262.* **The Iron Beak** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (20)], *Loha-tunda*. Pr., ff. 3.
- 263.* **The Black Beak** [2 vols., K, 17 (36), 23 (b)], ? *Garuda*, *Khuduma dharmatāpa* (T. Ka-mch'u nag-po).

- 264.* **The Black Iron Beak** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (21)] (*Sadhrishaya-oṣṭha*). Pr., ff. = Kg. XVIII., C.A., 540 (8).
- 265.* **The Red Copper Beak**, *Dh.*, *Garuda* [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (18)] (T. zaṅo mch'u-dmar). Pr., ff. 11.
- 266.* **The Flaming-Mouthed Mahājñala mukhi**.
- 267.* **Parna Śabari** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (35)] (T. Ri-k'rod loma gyon). Pr., ff. 2.
- 268.* **Dhvajāgrakeyurā**, *Dh.* [2 vols., I.O., K, 17 (4), 23 (a)] (T. rTse-mo dpung-rgyan). Kg. XIII., 408-410. Pr., ff. 3, 6; C.A., 525.
- 269.* **Mahā-Sannipāta ratna-ketu**, *Dh.* [1 vol., B.M., T, 107]. Tr. by Jinamitra in eighth century A.D. Pr., ff. 124.
- 270.* **Nāga Frightener** [2 vols., I.O., K, 17 (38), 17 (3)], *Nāgarachadhaya* and *Sūtra* charm (T. kLui spu-bkong), Pr., ff. 5; (T. kLui-gtor, and *Sūtra* dpang-skong p'yang mdo), Pr., ff. 7.
- 271.* **Nāgas** [1 vol., B.M., T, 96 (3)], Offerings to.
- 272.* **The Seven Sages** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17 (44)], or Great Bear Constellation (T. sMc-bdun). Pr., ff. 7.
- 273.* **Preta** [1 vol., B.M., T, 112 (4)], Starveling Ghosts, Offerings to. Pr., ff. 7.
- 274.* **Dhārāṇi as Magical Spells and Charms** [1 vol., I.O., K, 6], "The 100,000 Collection" Śatasahasrikā (T. gZung-'bum). Sentences mostly in Skt. Pr., ff. 385. Cf. my W.B.T., 163, and article in *Ostasiat. Zeit.* July, 1912.
- 275.* Another different, various [3 vols., I.O., K, 17, 18, 40, 43]. Pr., ff. 11, 9, 2.
- 276.* Another [1 vol., Ox., B, 2 (5)]. Pr., ff. 28.
- 277.* Another [1 vol., B.M., T, 105 (8)]. Pr., ff. 37.
- 278-280.* Others [3 vols., B.M., T, 87 (8), 110 (4), 117 (2)]. Pr., ff. 12, 20, 34.
- 281.* **Vajra-mālā**, *Dh.* [1 vol., B.M., T, 86 (6)], from the *Vajra mālā* of Abhayākara (T. rDo-rje 'preng-las-gzungs). Pr., ff. 13.
- 282.* **Magical Rites** [1 vol., B.M., T, 93 (12)] of Lui-pa. Pr., ff. 26.
- 283.* **Sādhana** [1 vol., B.M., T, 93 (11)], *Dindhadhi-kṛitā* (T. sGrub-ta'bs mdor-byas). Pr., ff. 16-23.
- 284.* Others, *Vasavidhī maṇḍala* [1 vol., I.O., I, 8]. Pr., ff. 512.
- 285.* **Magic Circles** [1 vol., I.O., H, 25], *Maṇḍala*, Mode of Working. Pr., ff. 24.
- 286.* **Magic Circles** [5 vols., Ca., G, 8], *Manjuśrī*, several. Pr.
- 287.* **Magic Circles** [8 vols., Ox., H, 4], *Guhyakāla* (T. gSang-'dus). Pr., ff. 417.
- 288.* **Vajrayāna Rites** [4 vols., B.M., Or. 6744, 46-47 and 49]. MS., ff.
- 289.* **Vajrayāna Spells** [2 vols., B.M., T, 94 (5), 120 (6)], ascribed to Ts. Pr., ff. 16, 3.
- 290.* **Kālacakra Rites** [7 vols., I.O., I, 1 (g and c)], by D.L., *Lob. bKal-bzang*. Pr., ff. 72, 44, 3, 10, 54, 92, 16.
- 291.* Others [7 vols., I.O., I, 2 (h and c)].
- 292.* Others [7 vols., I.O., I, 3], by monks of rTse-tang (near Gyantse). Pr., ff. 482.
- 293.* Others [7 vols., I.O., I, 4], by various writers. Pr., ff. 604.
- 294.* **On Holy Water and Coloured Dust** [2 vols., B.M., T, 111 (1), 93 (5)], in *Guhyakāla Rites* (T. gSang-'dus). Pr., ff. 5, 4.
- 295.* **Rain-compelling Rites** [2 vols., B.M., T, 113 (3)] (T. dMig-brtse-maī las). Pr., ff. 4, 38.
- 296.* **Rain-compelling Rites** [1 vol., I.O., K, 17, 26], *Mahāmegha Sūtra*, Kg. XVII., 385-354; C.A., 462. Pr., ff. 23. (See also Nos. 259-265 and 270-171.)

(5) YOGA AND TANTRIK MYSTICISM.

- 297.* **Yoga Cult Practices** [1 vol., B.M., T, 124 (8)], ascribed to Nāgārjuna (T. mGon-po klu-sgrub mdsad). Pr., ff. 61.
- 298.* **On Mystic Vision** [1 vol., B.M., T, 89 (3)] (T. Zi-lhag-gnis rgyal-baī gDong, etc.). Pr., ff. 5.
- 299.* **Higher Yoga** [1 vol., B.M., T, 95 (6)] (T. bLa-maī rnal-byor). Pr., ff. 3.
- 300.* **Mystic Ecstasy** [1 vol., B.M., T, 86 (3)] (T. bSam-gtan). Pr., ff. 3.
- 301.* **Yoga Exercises** [1 vol., B.M., T, 86 (2)], ascribed to Ts. for *Guhyakāla* rites.

- 302.* **Yoga Exercises** [1 vol., B.M., T, 101 (3)], by *Lob. Ye-ses Sakya-btsun-pa*. Pr., ff. 8.
- 303.* Others for Upper School of Mysticism [2 vols., I.O., K, 4 (b) and 10 (a)] (T. gSang-sngags-rgud grva-tsang bla-brgyud). Pr., ff. 3, 3. Cf. my W.B.T., 152, 164.
- 304.* Others [2 vols., B.M., T, 95 (2), 118 (12)] (T. donar-krid). Pr., ff. 4, 3.
- 305.* **Mystic Union** [1 vol., Ca., G, 2], *Guhya-samāj*, by Ts. and others. Pr., Vol. Ch.
- 306.* Others [5 vols., Ca., H, 1].
- 307.* Others [7 vols., B.M., T, 121 (7), 87 (7), 124 (1), 80 (4), 105 (2), 105 (3), 87 (5)]. Pr., ff. 56, 66-20, 17, 12, 8.
- 308.* **Commentaries on Same** [4 vols., Ca., H, 2]. Pr., ff. 521.
- 309.* Others [2 vols., B.M., T, 119 and 108].
- 310.* **King of Tantras** [2 vols., B.M., T, 110 (5), 102 (2)], *Tantratāra*, Sūtra of Thanksgiving on completing above studies. Pr., ff. 10, 9.
- 311.* **King of Tantras** [1 vol., I.O., H, 1], *Vimalatāra* (T. dri mod rgyal). Pr., ff. 47.
- 312.* **Vajrayāna Yoga** [1 vol., B.M., T, 95 (5)]. Pr., ff. 22.
- 313.* **Vajra-Yoginī Rites** [1 vol., B.M., T, 120 (7)]. Pr., ff. 3.
- 314.* **Kālacakra Cult** [2 vols., B.M., T, 112 (2), 95 (4)]. Pr., ff. 9, 37.
- 315.* Others [3 vols., I.O., I, 10 (610, 11)]. Pr., ff. 23, 151, 15.
- 316.* **Mystic Vision of Vajradhara** [1 vol., B.M., T, 87 (2)], the Primordial Buddha-God. Pr., ff. 25.
- 317.* Another [5 vols., I.O., J, g (c-i)], by Ts. and others. Pr., ff. 56.
- 318.* **Mahāmūdra** [1 vol., Ox., H, 11], Postures. MS., ff. 4.
- 319.* **The Four Classes of Tantras** [4 vols., Ca., D, 1] (T. rGyud-sde-bz'i). Pr. Cf. my W.B.T., 164.
- 320.* **The Four Classes of Tantras** [1 vol., Ca., G, 10]. Pr., ff. 43.
- 321.* **The Four Classes of Tantras** [6 vols., Ox., D, 1].
- 322.* **The Four Classes of Tantras** [1 vol., I.O., H, 2], by *Tash. P. [L.] C.* Pr., ff. 31.
- 323.* **On Kālacakra** [4 vols., I.O., K, 19 (b-c)]. Pr.
- 324.* **On Kālacakra** [4 vols., Ox., H, 17]. Pr.
- 325.* **Tantrik Rites for Coercing Gods and Demons** [6 vols., Ca., F, 9]. Pr., ff. 376.
- 326.* Another [4 vols., Ca., G, 6 (2)]. Pr., ff. 80.
- 327.* Another for *Dākinī* [30 vols., Ca., Or. 628]. MSS.
- 328.* Another [6 vols., I.O., J, 15 (a-f)]. Pr.
- 329.* Another, various [84 vols., I.O., I, 6-7; J, 9, 13-18 (a); K, 4, 10, A (c), B (a-c)]. Pr.
- 330.* Another, various [10 vols., Ox., F, 1]. Pr.

B.—BON OR PRE-BUDDHIST CULT-BOOKS.

- 331.* **The Hundred Thousand White Serpents** (*Nāga*) [1 vol., I.O., C, 1 (c)]. Title in several languages. T. Bon rin-po-che 'p'rul-ngag-bden-pai mdo-las. *Syn. kLu-'bum dkar-po*. MSS., ff. 38.
- 332.* **The Hundred Thousand Black Serpents** [1 vol., I.O., C, 1 (b)], a Sūtra of the great (reversed) *Svastika*. T. kLu-'bum nag-mo z'es-bya-bai gyun. Title in several other languages. MS., ff. 9.
- 333.* **The Exorcising [Libation-]Cup of the Serpent, Plague, and Locality-Demons** [1 vol., I.O., C, 1 (a)]. Title and some of the chapters are given in other languages, and a long colophon. Vol. K. MS., ff. 58. T. spang-skong p'an-yon-dgos-'dod kun-byang-rgy. *pratihara*. Cf.
- 334.* **Expelling the Plague-Kings, Serpents, and Locality-Demons** [1 vol., I.O., C, 1 (d)]. T. bTsan-kLu-sman[? smad]-sa-bdag spang-skongs-bchas. Vol. K. MS., ff. 14-21.

C.—HISTORY: SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS.

1. *KINGS AND FAMOUS SECULAR PERSONAGES.*

- 335.* **The Succession of the Kings of [Tibet]**, Mirror of [1 vol., B.M., Or. 6751]. T. rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-long. Cf. E. Schlagintweit's "Die Könige von Tibet," 1866. MS., ff. 185.
- 336.* Another [1 vol., I.O., F, 1]. Pr., ff. 2-112, imperfect Skt. at beginning.
- 337.* **Autobiography of Srong-btsan-sGam-po, First Buddhist King of Tibet** [2 vols., I.O., F, 2] (circa A.D. 630-680), entitled "The Hundred Thousand Words of the Jewel." T. Mani-bkā-bum. Pr., ff. K (annals, prayers, etc.), 187, with MS. notes in cursive characters at end. Vol. K' precepts, 319.
- 338.* Another [2 vols., B.M., T, 123]. 2 vols. Pr., ff. 324, 319. In vol. i. several missing pages are replaced by MS.
- 339.* Another [1 vol., Ca., C, 1]. Vol. ii. only. Pr., ff. 371.
- 340.* Another in 4 vols. in MS. [4 vols., Ca., Or. 623-627]. Vol. K (Index), ff. 6; K' (History of God *Āvalokita*), ff. 111; G (*Āvalokita, continued*), ff. 38; Ng (History of King Srong-btsan, in 2 parts), ff. 103.
- 341.* Another [2 vols., Ox., C, 2-3]. Pr., ff. 220 and 371.
- 342.* **On the "Om-mani" Formula**, ascribed to King Srong-btsan [1 vol., B.M., T, 100].
- 343.* **Tale (Avadana) of Mahāprajāpati** [1 vol., I.O., J, 2 (11)], the first Buddhist nun and aunt of Śākya Buddha, by P. L. C., written by Novice Dar-gyas. Pr., ff. 6.
- 344.* The same, two more copies [2 vols., I.O., J, 2 (22), 15 (11)].
- 345.* The same [1 vol., B.M., T, 118 (7)].
- 346.* **Tale of Kulika [Manjusri] kīrti**, King of Sumbhala [1 vol., B.M., T, 118 (2)], to whom is ascribed the Tantrik system of *Kālacakra* (T. Rigs-Idan grags-pa'i rtogs-pa . . . Kyil bai zla-ba). Pr., ff. 3.
- 347.* **Life of gYu-tog** [2 vols., I.O., J, 12], a famous physician, entitled "Teja-ratna-niddhi Bhāṭṭarāka" (T. rJe-btsun gYu-to'gyon-tan ngon-po rñing-mai rnam-s'tar). Pr., ff. Vol. K, 149; K', 18.
- 348.* The same [1 vol., I.O., J, 11]. Pr., ff. Vol. K, 149.
- 349.* **Life of the Nominhan [Nomen khun, Mongolian for Dharma-rāja] of Gāldan Monastery** [1 vol., I.O., J, 14] (T. rDo-rje 'chang Ngag-dbang ts'ul-krims dpal-bzang-po), by Lob. bstan-pa'i dbang-p'yug 'jam-dpal rgya-mts'o [8th D. L., A.D. 1757-1804]. Pr., ff. Vol. B, ii. 401.

2. *MONASTERIES AND SECTS.*

- 350.* **Record of the Founding of the Monastery of Urgyan-gling** [1 vol., B.M., Or. 6750]. MS., ff.
- 351.* **List of Chortens (Stūpas) at Tashilhumpo and Rva-bsgreg** [1 vol., I.O., H, 2 (23)]. Pr., ff. 24.
- 352.* Another [1 vol., I.O., K, 10 (23)].
- 353.* **Persons saved by seeing and hearing of the above** [1 vol., I.O., H, 2 (22)]. In verse. Pr., ff. 5.
354. The same [1 vol., I.O., K, 10 (22)].
- 355.* **List of Presents to the Monks and Gods at Lhasa** [1 vol., I.O., K, 2 (a)], by D. L. bskal-bzang. Pr., ff. 230.
- 356.* **Collection of Orders and Passports, etc.** [1 vol., I.O., K, 2 (b and c)], in the Archives of Small and Great Monasteries and Index. Pr., ff. 149.
- 357.* **Order of Books in the Tantra Schools of Tash** [1 vol., I.O., K, 4 (b)], by P. L. C. Pr., ff. 3.
- 358.* Another [1 vol., B.M., T, 97 (1)].

- 359.* **Religious Practice in the Small and Great Establishments of Magadha** [1 vol., I.O., K, 20], entitled "Neck Ornament of the Fortunate."
Skt. *Subhayānāmo grivālāṅkāra magadha mahāl peṣu dharmasenaśrīdharmabhogasyakrama.*
T. dBus-gyur chos-sde-ch'e-ch'ung rnam-sa gsung-bai ch'os-spyod-kyi rim-pa skal-bzang mgrim-rgyas.
- 360.* **On the bKā-dam Sect** [1 vol., Ca., G, 6 (1)]. Pr., ff. 274.
- 361.* **On the dGe-ldan bKā-brgyud Sect** (at Tashi ?) [2 vols., I.O., H, 2 (2 and 3)], by [P.] L. C. 2 vols. Pr., ff. 23, 7.
- 362.* **On same** [1 vol., B.M., 96 (9)]. ff. 5.

3. BUDDHIST TEACHERS AND HIERARCHS, INDIAN AND TIBETAN— THEIR LIVES AND WORKS.

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- 371.* Two more [2 vols., I.O., J, 15 (6), 20 (6)].
- 372.* **Life of Asanga** [1 vol., I.O., K, 14 (6)] (T. Togs-med), by dPal-ldan Ye-śes [A.D. 1737-1777]. Pr., ff. 17.
- 373.* **Life of Padmasambhava of Urgyan** [Udhyana] [1 vol., B.M., Or. 6731] (T. Padma 'byung-gnas kyi rnam-s'tar. Sva. Padma bKā-tang yig). MS., ff. 258.
- 374.* Another [2 vols., B.M., T, 90, 125]. Pr., ff. 226, 226. A few missing pages have been replaced in MS.
- 375.* Another [1 vol., I.O., J, 1]. MS. with miniatures, ff. 279.
- 376.* Another, labelled "bKā-tang" [5 vols., I.O., J, 16]. 5 vols. Pr., ff. K, Spirits and Demons (lha-dre), 52; K, King (rgyal-po), 92; G, Queen (btsun-mo), 47; Ng, Teacher (shoh-dpon), 75; Ch, Ministers (blon-po), 70.
- 377.* Another [1 vol., Ca., Or. 619]. MS., ff. 325.
- 378.* Another [1 vol., Ca., Or. 621]. MS., ff. 374.
- 379.* Another, larger edition, with miniatures [1 vol., Ca., F, 11]. Pr., ff. 376.
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- 381.* Another [1 vol., Ox., G, 3]. Pr., ff. 235.
- 382.* Another, condensed [2 vols., I.O., I, 6 (p-q)]. Pr., ff. 18, 18.
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- 386.* Another [1 vol., B.M., T, 95 (8)], with author's name as [P. L.] C. Sākyaibtsun-pa bLo-bzang. Pr., ff. 17.
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- 414.* Another [2 vols., I.O., J, 10], by Pan. *Lob*. Ye-śes [1663-1757]. Pr., ff. 35, 4.
- 415.* **Life of mKas-grub** [5 vols., Ox., G, 1], dGe-legs-dpal of Gā-ldan, the so-called "8th Panchen," and several booklets. Pr., ff. 48.
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- 419.* Three others [3 vols., I.O., J, 2 (2) and (20), and 15 (2)]. Pr., ff. complete, 214.
- 420.* Another condensed Life [1 vol., B.M., T, 104]. Pr., ff. 35.
- 421.* Another [1 vol., I.O., K, 11 (g)].
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- 430.* **Works of Kus-spangs Cho's-rje** [1 vol., Ox., G, 8]. MS., ff. 310.
- 431.* On same [1 vol., Ca., Or. 629]. MS., ff. 80.
- 432.* **Life of dPal-hyor lhun-drup** [1 vol., Ca., F, 4]. Pr., ff. 172.
- 433.* **Life of rGyal-ba rGo-tsang** [1 vol., Ca., Or. 629]. MS., ff. 200.
- 434.* The Three Wise *Mahāsiddhi* [1 vol., B.M., T, 118 (11), by [P.] L. C., written by Dar-rgyas. Pr., ff. 38.
- 435.* Another [1 vol., I.O., J, 2 (3)].
- 436.* **Life of dGe'dun cho's-rgyal dbzang-p'ugs** (—"1st D. L.") [1 vol., B.M., T, 101 (2)]. Pr., ff. 23.
- 437.* **Life and Birth of "7th Dalai Lama"** [1 vol., B.M., T, 96 (4)] (Tāms-chad-mk'yen-pa bLo-bzang-skai-bzang rgya-mts'o), by Lo-bzang Ye-ses, Ch'os-smra-ba of (?) Potala [A.D. 1738-1780]. Evidently written by "12th Panchen" whilst studying at Potala (?), or merely printed there (?).
- 438.* **Works of "7th Dalai"** [17 vols., I.O., K, 8, 13].
- 439.* **Biography of "10th Dalai"** [1 vol., I.O., J, 17] (bLo-bzang T'ul-khums-dpal-bzang-po) [1819-1837]. Pr., ff. 9.
440. **Works of above** [12 vols., I.O., J, 17 (2-13)], including List of Images erected by him.

D. — ANCIENT "SCIENCE," MEDICINE, MATHEMATICS, AND ASTROLOGY.

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- 442.* Another copy [2 vols., I.O., D, 6]. MS., Vols. G, ff. 263; Ng, 57. Its Sanskrit title is given as *Aṣṭāṅgamṛita-hṛidaya-guhyopadeśa-tantra*.
- 443.* Another vol. [1 vol., B.M., T, 81 (2)], entitled T. Dum-bu dang-po rtsa-ba'i rgyud (Skt. *Purva-Khaṇḍa mūlasya mālā*). Pr., Vol. K, ff. 5.
- 444.* Another [1 vol., B.M., T, 80], entitled T. Dum-bu gsum-pa man-ngag rgyud (Skt. *Trikhāṇḍopadeśasya mālā*). Pr., Vol. G, ff. 226.
- 445.* Another [1 vol., B.M., 81 (1)], entitled T. Dum-bu bz'i-bu p'yi-ma-ba rgyud (Skt. *Catur-khaṇḍa-bahir mālā*). Pr., Vol. Ng, ff. 62.
- 446.* **Commentary on the Four Medical Tantras** [4 vols., I.O., D, 3], entitled shortly "The Blue *Vaidūrya* Rosary," and more fully T. gSo-ba rig-pa'i bstan-bchas sman-bla'i dgongs-rgyan bz'i'i gsal-byed Vaidūrya sngon-po'i p'reng-ba. Traditionally ascribed to Regent Sangs-rgyas-Gya-mts'o [A.D. 1676-1706]. Pr., Vols. K, ff. 37; Kh., 261; G, 537; Ng, 232.
447. **Another Commentary** [1 vol., I.O., D, 5], entitled "The Sword for Cutting the Snare on [Medical] Emergencies" (T. bDud-rtsi-sñing-po yan-lag brgyad-pa gsang-ba man-ngag yon-tan rgyud-kyi lhan-ta'bs zug rñu-ts'a-gdun sel-ba'i gan-du dus ming lchi-z'ags-gchod-pa'i ral-gri (Skt. *Ākālamṛitapāśā chedakhaḍya*). Pr., ff. 285.

- 448.* **On the Cult of the Seven Healing Buddhas** [1 vol., B.M., T, 96 (8)] (*Bhaiṣajya*, T. sMau-bla), with a metrical appendix by D. L. bSkal-bzang rGya-mts'o [A.D. 1708-1757] (T. bDer-gslegs-bdum gyi mch'od-pa'i bsgribs yid-bz'in dbang-rgyal; Skt. *Chintendra-jaya sapta sugata pūjasya vidhī grathita*). Pr.
- 449.* Abstract of foregoing (?) [1 vol., Ca., E, 1 (4)]. Pr., ff. 6.
- 450.* **Medical Treatment of Horses** [1 vol., B.M., T, 83], by Śālihotra (T. rTa-ts'ej rig-byed Śālihotras bsdus-pa, or curtly "rTa-'bnu"; Skt. *Śālihotra-veda*). Pr., ff. 328.

2. MATHEMATICS, ASTROLOGY, ETC.

- 451.* **The White Vaidūrya Jewel** [2 vols., I.O., G, 1 and 2], a mathematical and astrological work, with passages in Sanskrit and many diagrams. Its composition is ascribed to the Regent Sangs-rgyas in A.D. 1082, as with No. 446; probably he merely translated it from the Sanskrit. It is chiefly used for casting horoscopes and numerical divination. T. dGe-legs rtsis-kyi legs-bsad mk'as-pa'i ngul-rgyan *vaidūrya* dkar-po do-sal dpyod-ldan sañg nor; Skt. title nearly illegible. Pr., Vol. I., ff. 329; II., ff. 633.
- 452.* Another copy [1 vol., B.M., T, 122]. Pr., ff. 632.
- 453.* Another copy [1 vol., B.M., T, 128]. Pr., ff. 632.
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T. rGya-nag skag zlog-z'es-bya-ba'i gzung.
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T. sKya-ka-p'o-rog gnis-kyi mngon z'es-bya skad stag-pa.

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T. sNyam-ngag me-long-gi dka-'grel dbyangs-chan dgyes-pa'i glu-dbyangs.
Skt. *Kāvyaṁ darśanātū durvritti-svara-svadi-priyasya-giti-svara*.
- 457.* Another copy [1 vol., I.O., L, 1]. Pr., ff. 35.
- 458.* **Commentary on the Treasure of Synonymous Words (Amarakośa)** [A.D. 700] [1 vol., I.O., L, 2], entitled "Bunch of Flowers," by bLo-gros 'ogs me-dn 'jug pa'i btsun-pa bo-dong-pa and bLo-gros-brtan-pa. [= The Bo-dong incarnation of Asaṅgamati and Sthiramati—i.e., ? 'Jig-med grags of Jouang Sect.] MS., ff. 68. Cf. *Tg. d.*, Vol. Le, C.A., 581.
- 459.* **Commentary on Sanskrit Names** [1 vol., Ca., Or. 634]. MS., n 4 parts, numbered 3, 4, 5, and 6.
- 460.* **A Book of Synonyms (? Amarakośa)** [1 vol., Ox., I, 1], Sanskrit and Tibetan. MS., ff. 100.
- 461.* **The Advances in Poetry** [1 vol., Ox., H, 6], by the P. L. C. Several booklets. Pr.
- 462.* **Grammatical Work of Kalāpa** [1 vol., B.M., Or. 6752], by Saptavarena (?), entitled "*Ku-Tantra*," with commentary. MS., in 10 parts. *Tg. d.* Vol. Le, C.A., 581.
T. sGra'i-bstan-bchos ka-lā-pa; Skt. *Kalāpa vyākaraṇa*.
- 463.* **Lexicon for the Schools at Tashilhumpo**. "Words arranged for use in the consecutive grades of the great religious schools at Tash." It is printed in types of different sizes. Pr., ff. 5.
Cho's grva-che'n-po bkra-śis lhun-po'i ts'ig-bar.
- 464.* **Musical Scores** [1 vol., B.M., Or. 6753], with archaic notation. T. dbYangs-yig.

LETTERS FROM THE NIZAM'S CAMP,
1791-1794.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY A. FRANCIS STEUART.

INTRODUCTION.

WILLIAM STEUART, the writer of these "Letters from the Nizam's Camp," merits a few words. He was of an old Scottish Jacobite family, being the third son of James Steuart, writer in Edinburgh, by his wife Alison, daughter of Thomas Ruddiman, the Latin grammarian, and he was born at Edinburgh on June 6, 1763. Early destined for the Engineers, after studying under Mr. Adam at the High School, the lad was sent, by his uncle, to St. Omers in France in 1779, where he "went to church every Sunday," seeing "nothing done unbecoming Christianity," and studied all branches of mathematics and surveying. After his return home, through the influence of the same uncle (the "Providence" of his family, to whom all these letters are written), Charles Steuart (1725-1797) last Receiver General of Customs of British North America, he was fitted out for India, receiving a commission as a Practitioner Engineer for Fort St. George, and sailed in 1780. His voyage was made via Rio de Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope. He was fortified with many letters of introduction (some to friends of "Mr. Hastings," and one to George Bogle, the Tibetan traveller), and arrived at Madras in January, 1781. The Society there struck him as odd. "I waited on Mr.

Balfour . . . He was so obliging as to ask me to stay in his house in the fort, which I have done ever since, by that means I have saved my reputation and money, got good acquaintance, and not interrupted in my studies &c., for the gentlemen who live in Punch houses here get the name of Drunkards." He went on to Calcutta, having a commission as Cadet (for 1780) in the Bengal establishment (as well as one as Ensign in the Madras establishment, which gave him some trouble and lost him much precedence), and was, in 1783, a Lieutenant in the 1st Regiment of Sepoys, part of the 1st Brigade, and in his own words "beloved by all my brother officers." He was as well "able to speak the Maurs' language," which gained "the affections of the black troops." Languages seem to have been easy to him, and he wrote, in 1784, from "Mahajee Sindia's Camp near Gwalior," that he had applied himself "to gain a perfect knowledge of the Persian language, and have already made great progress." He sent home, on December 10, 1784, five shawls, "and one piece of Kincob, all of which I received in presents from Mahajee Sindia, and the King of Delhi, alias the Great Mogul." So his negotiations must have progressed with his linguistic aptitude. "Since August 1784," he wrote, "I have been marching about with Sindia's Victorious Army . . . employed and enduring the hardships of war, without the honour," but, noticing Scindia's rising power, he expected a rupture with the British. "I am in hopes of having, some time or other, the honour of assisting in reducing that very power I have seen him take possession of." We get a personal touch from the same letter (February 20, 1785).

"I beg you will acquaint my Father that his prophecy that I would turn out an Idle *Vagabond* is not so just as my Dear Sister Anna's, viz., that a young *sloven* will, in time, turn out a *Beau*, and that I am now looked upon as one of the greatest *Beaus* in India, without being a Coxcomb; so much that Colonel Muir, commanding officer of the 1st Brigade, ordered me, as a young man of taste, to make out

a compleat uniform Dress, from head to foot, for the Officers of the Regiments then under his Command ; which I did to the satisfaction of everyone, and which I now wear, as also my Brother Officers."

We learn from what he wrote home that his conduct in bearding Scindia, in the matter of revenue claimed by him, was well recognized, and that his chief (Mr. James Anderson) was "several times so kind as to mention" him "in the most flattering terms to the Governor-General and Council." In 1788, Steuart was "still with the Resident" (Major William Palmer) at Mahajee Scindia's Camp "in Command of a Company of Grenadiers, acting assistant to the Embassy, Post-master, Surveyor &c.," and was the valued correspondent of Sir William Jones and other distinguished Orientalists, as well as a noted surveyor.*

In 1790 he was sent, by Lord Cornwallis, as secretary to the Embassy to the Nizam of Hyderabad, and his letters, many relating to the war with Tippu Sahib (with their family passages omitted) are here printed without much comment, as a quarry for future Indian historians. Their interest chiefly consists in their being quite private accounts of what the writer did, or saw happen round him, news he thought he dared safely send. He gained considerable distinction and wealth ; adopted an Eastern mode of life, made India his home, and had but slight ideas of returning to Europe. He had little time to do so, moreover, as he died at Hyderabad, where he was assistant Resident, on September 14, 1795, when James Achilles Kirkpatrick (Hushmat Jung), of whom so much more has been written, succeeded him in his post, and eventually filled the position that had been held by his brother, William Kirkpatrick, as Resident.

* The *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, quoted in his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, says of William Steuart : "As a Surveyor his merit was conspicuous, and in particular his survey of the route from Agra to Hyderabad, through paths till then unexplored, has proved a valuable acquisition to the geography of India."

LETTER I.

"HEAD QUARTERS CAMP, NEAR AMBOOR,

"April 21, 1791.

"MY DEAR LOVING UNCLE,

"To hear of your health and of that of my dear Relations, tho' superior to every other consideration, yet the idea of my being able to make you happy with good accounts of myself is next, and of great weight with me. I was placed at the head of twenty thousand Cavalry, and led them down to our Grand Army. I corresponded daily with Lord Cornwallis, and managed the junction so dexterously that my army did not lose a man. I joined Lord Cornwallis on the 13th inst., and have been marching ever since towards this place. To-morrow we break ground, and by the blessing of God we will not halt—I must to see Colonel Duff who commands Rangalora, which is 10 miles to the west side of our route—till we see Seringapatam, the Capital of our foe; after the fall of that place I hope peace will be made, as it must be desirable to all men. I enjoy health, and tho' I live in honor, I assure you I make no money in my present command of 20,000 horse. Honor is the soldier's fortune, and I enjoy the honor I now have. I am the first European who ever led down a Native Army to aid Britania in the East,* and I feel the joy which Lord C. expressed of my proper conduct and exertions. In my situation here I am nearly on a footing with Lord C. I visit him daily, and transact all business between this army and his.

"I am sensible a soldier's life is not in his hands or in the Doctor's, and aware of the uncertainty of length of days I have made two copies of my will, one of which is with my Attorney, Mr. Colvin, in which you and my Dear Relations are not forgot. May I die a glorious death and leave you the remembrance of a brave and worthy nephew; or may I live to shake hands with you after enduring the fatigues and dangers of war, are my earnest wishes in this

* We cannot now accept this statement in its entirety.

world. Let fate determine what ought and what shall happen ; in either I am ready and am satisfied. My Relations ought to derive credit from the actions of their friend, and I shall strive on that principal, to do them honor. Long life, health, and happiness attend you and all we hold dear.

"Tippoo took two of my State Elephants yesterday, and I am obliged to ride on horseback, which is rather disagreeable. Amongst 20,000 horse, however, my body Guard consists of a 1,000 horse, and with them I may keep elbow room.

"Tell James Anderson his Company here is wished for by all his old friends, such as Welsh, Woodburn, Cockerell, and many others.

"I am, ever with gratitude, a nephew of your own,

"WM. STEUART."

LETTER II.

"TWENTY MILES N.E. FROM SERINGAPATAM,

"*June 16, 1791.*

"MY DEAR UNCLE,

"Few hours pass without a wish to hear of you and my Relations, at this season of the year particularly when ships may be expected daily ; and in the course of so often thinking of you be assured I feel most sensibly that it is my duty to afford you accounts of my humble self, the more especially when I have the power of gratifying you with favorable and honorable news of my success in India. I mentioned in a former letter my having been appointed by Captain Kennaway and the Nizam to attend in the capacity of acting Ambassador (Captain K. being obliged to remain at Court) that Chief's army of 20,000 Cavalry appointed to form a junction with Earl Cornwallis. After various delays and a long correspondence between his Lordship and me in Cypher, and after I had exhausted all my endeavours and even strength (for I fainted on finding the Commander prove a villain who wished, instead of

joining his Lordship, to fall back, notwithstanding his repeated promises to advance, and his Lordship actually coming on at his request to favor the junction) I had the honor of delivering over the command of the Cavalry to his Lordship and General Medows on the 13th April, 1791, on the plains of Chelumcotta, in front of the British Lines, which was drawn out, and a salute fired on the happy occasion. Since then I have been in very great favor at Head Quarters. His Lordship treats me with the utmost confidence on all occasions, and never will allow me to retire on his being busy. All the army give me the credit of having expedited the junction, and of having effected it, and sure it is, my dear uncle, I never fought so well as I did for it night and day. I continued, and still continue, to transact all business between his Lordship and the Nizam's Commander, in whose camp I reside for the convenience of adjusting disputes, which amongst so many irregulars must always happen more or less. I accompanied the army to Amboor without any accident further than my being a spectator from my Howdah Elephant of several skirmishes with the enemy during which I corresponded with his Lordship. When near Amboor the enemy carried away my two Elephants along with the Nizam's Commander's. However, he recovered his, and I was reduced to a mere soldier-like conveyance on horseback. From Amboor I went to Bangalore, and thence to Seringapatam. My endeavours were most earnestly exerted to prevail on the Nizam's officers to act as his Lordship wished, and tho' I could not by any means succeed I had the good fortune to make his Lordship very sensible of my zeal and anxiety. A Colonel Martin, at my request, was joined with me to use arguments to spur them to military enterprize. However, he had no better luck till our arrival at Seringapatam. On the 14th of May his Lordship wrote me to visit him at sunset, and on entering his tent he imparted to me, in presence of my friend Colonel A. Ross, his resolve to march with part of the army (leaving Pickets standing, and

the Battering Train and several corps, under my friend Colonel Duff) at eleven p.m. to attack Tipoo, who was strongly posted near his Capital, and requested me to keep the intention a profound secret from the Nizam's troops, and to answer any queries they might put to me during the night on hearing our troops in motion by telling the Commander we were doubling our Pickets; his Lordship said he did not expect the Nizam's Cavalry would fight, but begged that I would on the morning of the 15th endeavour all I could to bring them to the field and to parade them in sight of the enemy; I replied to his Lordship that my most zealous endeavours should be used, and that I hoped and expected the Cavalry would fight. He returned for answer: Good-night, Steuart, I am sensible you will be zealous and active; this is a business that must be done, and shaking me by the hand said, God knows how it may turn out. Colonel Ross also took a tender leave of me, wishing we might meet again. Before I reached my hut a violent storm of thunder and a very heavy fall of rain came on, which continued all night, and which induced me to think his Lordship would defer his design, but far otherwise, the Hero was the first in the midst of it on the Parade at 11 p.m. At sunrise in the morning of the 15th, I waited on Rajah Teige Wunt wishing him joy of the happy moment, and after telling him that Lord Cornwallis was gone in the night to fight Tippoo, and had directed me to conduct the Cavalry by the Tract of our Guns, requested him to beat to arms, which he did, swearing he was ready, and happy so glorious an opportunity had occurred. In less than half an hour I led 20,000 Cavalry by the route our army had marched, and had not proceeded above three miles when the Cannonade commenced; my entreaties for a speedy advance were kindly answered, and we reached the rising grounds in sight of both armies before ours had formed in order of battle. Colonel Floyd, Commander of the British Cavalry, on observing my army, and taking them for the enemy's

horse, wheeled his little but brave corps to charge us ; perceiving what he was about, I deputed as my Aid-de-Camp, a Doctor Grey (by the bye, one of the Doctors who set my thigh at Agra, and who I saw coming to the battle in search of his Regiment, which he said he did not know whether had been ordered out or not. I advised him to take the field in case his Regiment was there, and if it was not his absence from the peaceful camp would not be blamed, and he accordingly took my advice and followed me), to let him know I had brought the Nizam's Cavalry and hoped to God I should make them useful to him, if he would give an opening. I spread the Cavalry on the heights and rode in front to reconnoitre ; I saw an officer coming towards me for a like purpose from Colonel Floyd, and galloped up to him. After telling him who I was, I prevailed on him to carry a note to Lord Cornwallis in which I just informed his Lordship of my success in bringing the Nizam's Troops to the field, of their being on the heights waiting for orders, and giving it as my opinion that they seemed very well inclined to be active and useful, also informing his Lordship that I had a good communication with Colonel Floyd. Soon after this the British line formed and advanced against the foe. Colonel Floyd sent to Colonel Martin and me to conduct the Nizam's Troops down from the heights, and along the right flank of the enemy's line, which we accordingly did in a moment. I rode round the Nizam's Chiefs telling them (a lie) (for Colonel Floyd informed me) I had received accounts from Lord Cornwallis with his compliments to them of all being in a good way, and that victory was certainly to be soon in our favor. I encouraged them as much as possible, and finding all willing, I led them on in a line to the enemy's flank. During our advance the enemy's guns were turned against the Bengal Brigade under Major Russel, who was intent on storming them. However, several shots were fired amongst my lads, of whom I only saw two killed near me, the others going too high for us. When I had reached the

flank of the Enemy's line, Colonel Floyd came galloping down with the British Cavalry to form the front to the Nizam's troops when we should turn to charge the foe in flank. The brave Floyd sent at this time his Aid-de-Camp to me with a request to know whether, as he was inclined to attempt a very grand object, the Nizamites would support him, and assuring me that if my Cavalry would support him he would lead against the foe. I answered that the Nizam's Cavalry appeared well inclined. I promised to follow, but that I could not be answerable for their doing so; that I would in a moment ride to the Rajah to ascertain the point and let the Colonel know his answer. The Aid-de-Camp begged I would do so, and joined his Colonel as I did my Rajah, who, on my mentioning the subject, replied: My friend, tell Col. Floyd with my compliments to advance, and that I will follow him wherever he goes. Turning round to give the welcome news, I observed the brave Colonel who had already been joined by his Aid-de-Camp, drawing his sword and beginning his charge. I pointed this noble sight to the Rajah, who instantly urged forward and directed his whole army to charge. I soon gained my station in front of the Nizam's horse, after galloping and encouraging them to follow as fast as possible, but I could not reach Floyd, his charge was quick as lightning, the enemy's foot were no sooner broken by Russel's Brigade than Floyd cut them to pieces; but, alas! being attacked by a large and fresh line of Infantry with Artillery and Musketry, his brave corps gave way, and wheeling round Russel's Brigade formed in its rear. The Nizam's Cavalry came on the left of Floyd when he was cutting up the runaways, and were panic struck on observing him give way. However, Colonel Martin and I had sufficient influence over the Nizam's Cavalry to prevent their retreating, and leading them in against the very corps which had driven Floyd back, and which by a volley from Russel's Brigade was broken at the time, my lads got in amongst

them with good success. However, a party of the Nizam's Horse, too eager, advanced in front of one of our Battalions and had 14 men killed by our fire. I observed the situation and brought off the remainder. When poor Floyd gave way, the enemy at the distance of 50 or 60 yards gave him a very heavy fire of musketry which Colonel Martin and I were in the line of about 3 minutes; the balls and rockets were like hail stones, and I was not a little surprised to escape unhurt. This fire was silenced by Russel's volley, and when I led the Cavalry into the ranks of the flying foe, I had occasion to draw the elegant sword presented to me at Agral by Colonel McLeod, which I wore on that day with pride to myself, and with some joy to think I adorned my breast with the beautiful plate he likewise gave me, on which is inscribed in Greek that I aspire to a seat in the highest heavens. I thought I had reached them, and sure it is I was willing for anything, and did not look behind. A spent ball hit my horse's leg, but did not hurt him, and a few stones thrown by the rascals who had been wounded and disarmed had nearly demolished my companion and myself.

"Major Russel was so tired with the fatigue of marching, his servants having taken away his horses, that he was unable to keep up with his Brigade. Observing him thus situated, I put him on one of my led horses, and saw him head his Brigade. My own servants attended me with attachment, and appeared perfectly cool during the heavy fire of musketry; but as soon as I reached the enemy's slain, my fellows were busily employed in searching their cloths for cash, which I was very happy to find afterwards they had got for themselves in considerable sums.

"Lord Cornwallis, aware of Tippoo's Batteries on the Island of Seringapatam, and that if Russel's Brigade and the Nizam's horse pursued too far they would be galled by them, ordered us all to halt, a very difficult task for me indeed; for I could not stop my horsemen for some time, and even then their Chiefs begged I would let them know

when and where they might make another charge. I told the Rajah to fall back; that I would go in front and give him notice when any opening should occur for another push. Colonel Martin and I moved forward with three Battalions of Russel's Brigade, which after 10 minutes' halt received orders to move to the low grounds near Seringapatam. As James Anderson will read this, I will mention names—Archdeacon's Battery and John Rattray's (Tom's friend) were of the three who behaved so well. I went with the former Gentlemen and several other friends in front, and sat down about an hour behind a rock about 1,000 yards from Tippoo's Batteries, which played on us with 9 lbs very smartly all the time. A large body of horse collected near us, and Colonel A. Ross coming past, we got his orders to give a few shots to drive them away, which Archdeacon's Guns did in a few discharges. However, the enemy's fire increased after this, and was so well directed that most of the shot hit the rock at which we were, and drove splinters about our heads. The Batteries were halting in a hollow. However, the fire becoming extremely heavy, and some loss occasioned by it, we idle lads thought proper to move our position. General Meadows rode through the midst of this Cannonade very slowly examining the Batteries, and his Lordship was within reach of it. I joined his Lordship, and congratulated him on the success of the day. We had taken 4 Guns on our right, and driven the foe from every height and ground towards his Capital, which saved him from complete ruin. Lord C. asked me for a drink of water, but I had it not. However, I galloped some distance, and got some from a wounded officer, which his Lordship said was more grateful to him than claret, as he had not tasted any all day. I afterwards waited on General Meadows, who had got something to eat on the planes, and during a heavy shower of rain he put me under the Table for shelter, as I had no covering or chair. The General was in high spirits, and we eat a very hearty meal. In the evening I waited on his Lordship

again, and slept in his tent with Colonel Duff, who joined us at 9 p.m. with the heavy Part and Corps which had been left to protect them. Rajah Teige Wunt returned after the Battle to his Baggage, which did not move at all, so that my tents being with his, I had not any accommodation of my own, and was too much fatigued to go back in the night-time to so great a distance. However, I found that my poor horses, as well as Colonel Duff's, would have nothing to eat and drink, neither Grass or Grain, and in the morning early, after they had fasted 34 hours, I led them to my tents 10 miles in the rear. Pray, my dear uncle, excuse all this egotism. I dwell on circumstances no ways interesting to you, and I do so in such a manner as may appear flattering my own deeds, however unconscious of guilt on that head, and happy to give you tidings of my military exertions, I state facts as they happened without ceremony or hesitation. Let Colonel McLeod* know that I value his sword doubly now that I have used it against the foe he once so bravely opposed with success, and that I hope fresh opportunities will occur for my using it with honor and credit to myself and family. The communication being shut at present, I will defer sending this or closing it till a safe conveyance to Madras occurs.

"17th June. The public Accounts of the action of the 15th ultimo will obviate the necessity of my saying anything about the killed and wounded, and I may for a similar reason pass over our occurrences since then, as they have been unfortunate on account of our very early monsoon or rains, which usually swell the river Cavary, and now prevent any possibility of carrying on a siege until the dry weather. We are now moving towards Bangalore by slow marches. An army of Marratas joined us on the 26th ultimo when we were two miles from Seringapatam, and are still with us as Allies. I imagine I shall have to carry back

* General Norman MacLeod, of Macleod (1754-1801), gave, on his departure to Europe, his sword to William Steuart, and a gold medallion, with a Greek inscription, about the success of "high and towering ambition."

my Cavalry to the Nizam to Canton during the rains. Of the 20,000 I brought I have now only 7,000 left; 3,000 went back lately to recruit, and the remaining 10,000 are either killed, taken, weak, or dead. Floyd's Corps have suffered very much, being now reduced to one-sixth part of what they were two months ago. A Bengal Regiment of Cavalry of 400 strong and well mounted in 3 weeks had only 60 horses, and those so weak as not to be admitted to fight or attend the battle of the 15th ultimo. It was formerly commanded by my friend Captain Welsh, a brave Cavalry officer, who is now here in command of a Battalion of Bengal volunteer Sepoys. He repulsed a charge of horse on the 15th with his Bayonets. Captain Thos. Dallas, a famous officer and an old Edinburgh acquaintance, had a favorite horse killed under him at the head of Floyd's charge. However, I saw him saving his Pistols and saddle very slowly in the midst of the fire. As accounts of Battles seldom agree, I beg you will not prefer mine to others you may hear, as my time was much taken up, and my view extended during the heat of it only to the right of the enemy's line. It may suffice to say that his Lordship gave me a long letter to the Rajah, thanking his bravery and activity on the day of the action and acknowledging his sense of the exertions of his troops, also presenting to him the 4 Guns taken from Tippoo as a token of remembrance of the action.

My Father will exclaim how vain the little vagabond is of his Battle, and I confess I am so; however, the following account will shew whether he will think me right or wrong. Another honorable Campaign like this in so high a situation as I am placed will reduce my fortune one half, for I declare to you I have drawn for considerable sums on my Attorney, and am four months in advance of Pay and allowances from the Company, in short, I have lost by the trip to this day £700 sterling, and if it continues much longer I shall without grumbling or showing any regret, or indeed having any, lay out my last freely on all useful

occasions. I can command fortune, and I defy its frowns ; my appointment at Hyderabad enables me, when at Court, to save considerably, and it is in a line for the head of which I am from long experience somewhat qualified, and, what may be better, am thought fully so by Lord Cornwallis and General Medows ; Captain Kennaway has a large fortune and weak health ; I am on good terms with him, and trust if he goes home I shall succeed him at Hyderabad, as is generally believed by all my friends, who indeed make no scruple in telling me so. (July 4, Camp near Savendroog, twenty-four miles W. of Bangalore). The allied Armies arrived here a few days ago, and I have been doing duty with Colonel Patrick Ross, the chief Engineer, in examining the works of this famous Fort. The first day I was carried away by the officers of my old Battalion, which happened to be ordered towards the lower Fort under Colonel Ross with another Corps. I went with my old Grenadiers as a volunteer in the expectation of having to storm the lower walls, but it appeared we had only to reconoitre. Next day I went again to my old corps, and after taking several sketches and pointing out my observations to Colonel Ross, returned safe again. On this occasion we went within 800 yards of the Fort under a fire of Artillery and huge Matchlocks ; the former carried round stone shot that did not hurt us, and the balls of the latter did not reach. The third day my Battalion was relieved, and five others were ordered along with whom I went and had the pleasure of going to every spot with Colonel Ross. I was clearly of opinion that the lower fort could easily be taken in four hours and maintained without sustaining any damage from the upper one, and as for that even, I thought it ought to be attacked, and made no doubt of its fall. The Engineers differed from me, perhaps owing to their better judgment and experience, besides my opinion may have been swayed by my wish and anxiety to release my Brother Officers, who have long endured a dreary life in the highest part of the Rock under heavy irons of a merciless Tyrant. The report

of the Engineers being unfavorable, Lord Cornwallis marched towards Bangalore, and I joined the Nizam's Cavalry, which always encamps a mile or two in the rear of his Lordship's army. The news of the Arrival of Ships from Europe gives us much joy ; we are all glad to find we are fighting in a popular cause as well as a just one. The cash coming out is of great importance to the Company's affairs ; it saves their Credit in India, and prevents the extremes of Brokers and Merchants who were beginning to make their own bargains, and to set what value they liked on the Company's Papers bearing interest. Five hundred thousand pounds will be equal to two millions, as the former sum in circulation will lower the discount of Paper and prevent at least a discount of near 50 per cent. which I doubt not would have been on all the Company's debts in India had the said sum not been sent here. Besides money we want three or four Regiments of your English Dragoons for this country where horses may be had for them on their arrival. The 19th is a fine Corps, has set a good example to the native Regiments, who, by the bye, are as brave as we are when under discipline, which is better kept up by having a good example to follow, and this our Dragoons would supply them with. The objects looked to by Lord C. for the Company in this War extend no farther than the Districts (look at Major Rennell's map) of Coimbatore, Palicacharry, Dingdigue, Barra Maul, and territory of the Nairson, the Malaba Coast. Bangalore is a strong and commanding Fort, but the country is by no means fertile near it, and it is very far from our Borders. For these latter, objections to our keeping it occur. The Nizam will get, if matters go on well for us, Copul, Cudassa, Cummum, Gundicotta and Gumamconda, valuable districts strongly defended by a chain of Forts, and the Marrattas will have Darwan, Shanoon, Harponelly, Chitteldroog, Bellary, Gooty and Roydroog. Such a Division as this will reduce Tippoo's power and prevent his flights in future ; he would have Seringapatam, Bangalore, Saven-

droog, Copauldroog, Bedure, and Country South of the Carrary River. If we mean to reduce Seringapatam, as I apprehend we do, I suppose we shall not have the way for Peace but for fresh and more bloody wars in India; the Marrattas are too powerful for us already, as we will not keep a body of Cavalry of sufficient force to act at any time independent of Infantry men which they remain and are starved to death. Tippoo ought to be reduced much, and to be our friend and ally against the powerful ambition of the Marrattas. The fame of victory may lead the conqueror on too far; we ought to look before us and to consider that Tippoo's ruin is strengthening our bitterest or more able foe, and that it is nourishing a deadly snake that might bite us in the vital parts at the extremes from Cape Comorinto Delhy according to its pleasure unless our Government would, in the event of Tippoo's ruin, raise and keep up a very respectable body of horse at Madras and Bengal, in which case I cry, down with our foe Tippoo, who has been so cruel to our Countrymen, and who has imbibed prejudices against our nation from his connection with the lowest dregs of French Refugees, or more properly speaking Jail Birds. It will be a pleasing reflection to you to think of the aid I have given to Geography by measuring a line from Delhy to Seringapatam, and of my having closed the scene at the head of 20,000 horse at within 1,000 yards of that place. Lord Cornwallis has repeatedly told me to consider myself as one of his family, and I go there whenever I like commonly once a day; in general I either breakfast or dine with him—he treats me with all attention and speaks well of me on all occasions. We will be in Bangalore in a few days, from whence we will be supplied with a battering Train and be acting once more against the foe. Another Battle will do the business completely, and I have no wish on earth so much at heart as that we may have eight or ten miles of plane in the foe's rear that I may have the honor of again leading my Cavalry, and more favourably than last time, to cut off his retreat and take him. I will write to you

by the first opportunity and keep you informed for your satisfaction, as also for that of my Relations, who I know will all be very anxious to hear of Peace. For quieting my dear Mother's fears I have only to say that we have seen Seringapatam, and know our wants, which two points we were ignorant of before and are now able to supply and to secure a certainty of success.

LETTER III.

"HEAD QUARTERS OF THE

"GRAND ARMY AT NYGCOTTA,

"*July 22, 1791.*

"MY DEAR UNCLE,

"I write to you with the more pleasure from being able to give you favorable accounts of myself, and I am often led to trouble you with letters when anxious myself to hear from you, especially at this late period of the year. My last informed you of my Honorable employ with the Nizam's Cavalry, of the part I had in the Battle with Tippoo on the 15th of May, and of my success as a volunteer with the Grenadier Company I formerly commanded, in examining one of the enemy's strongest forts, named Savendroog, in which some of our Countrymen still bear irons. I have already in addition to the above the heartfelt joy to tell you of my safe return from the storm of Anchitty Droog, a ruff sketch of which I enclose for your satisfaction, and hope by and bye to send you a finished copy, to be hung up in the room of the person who likes me best. I have added an account of the attack, and as my name occurs in it, I beg leave to apologize for its intrusion, being of opinion I would contradict my actions if I meant to make a vain boast of them. I have no view in stating my transactions to you except for affording you some joy, and however great I wish that to be, I shall never trumpet falsely to gain that point. There are 13 Hill Forts in sight of Anchitty Droog, which will be reduced, and the Chief Engineer tells me he would call on my services

during their attack, of which I made him repeated and sincere offers. I do not think there will be much difficulty in gaining the others, as the best mode of attack is discovered, namely, to push forward with Guns at once, and by firing at the lower walls till the numerous inhabitants retire up to the top of the Hills, when elevating the Guns, every shot striking amongst a crowd of people mixed with the Garrison, the Governors are overpowered by the cries of women and children, and are obliged to surrender. This mode will be adopted, and by it I expect to see all the Forts in our possession without much mischief. I enjoy excellent health, and what makes me do so I believe is my thinking myself the happiest man in India. I never allowed melancholy ideas to trouble me, and the woes of others never distress me; for if I can relieve them I do it, and if not I never think more of them; I rise every morning searching for employ, and once mounted on horseback, I seldom return home without some exploit, either civil or military. When it shall please God to let me go home, I will amuse you with such tales of battle as were never heard before. The lads here tell me I belong to the Diplomatic Corps, and have no business with fighting; however, I prefer the duty of a soldier, where pride and fortune is in honor, to that of an Ambassador, which, as Sir William Temple says, consists in telling D——d lies for the good of his country. I shall not intrude much on your time, having little leisure just now; however, I am glad to say that I am in great favor at Head Quarters. Lord Cornwallis desires me to consider myself as one of his family, and insists on my visiting him daily and on my entering his tent without any ceremony or previous notice. Colonel A. Ross and I are hand and glove, and indeed all the family are very intimate with me. How fortune may turn this notice to my advantage I know not, but I live in good hopes, and whenever the fickle jade shall shine on me I will lose no time in acquainting you. I pray for the continuance of your health, and trust I shall one day

or other see you, and my Dear Father and family well and happy. Tippoo's power is nearly crushed. Lord Cornwallis has the ball at his foot, and will keep it going. . . . In Sept., 1791, we return to take Seringapatam. I shall have 16,000 more cavalry from the Nizam ere then, and trust our work will 'be very easy, as Tippoo has not above 7,000 horse in his service. Pray give my Love and kindest remembrances to my dear Father, Mother, Sisters, and Brothers, not forgetting James and David Anderson. I and, ever, with affection and gratitude,

“Your loving nephew,

“WM. STEUART.

“CHARLES STEUART, Esq.”

“AN ACCOUNT OF THE TAKING OF ANCHITTY DROOG;
BY STORM ON THE 18TH JULY, 1791.

“Colonel Patrick Ross, the Chief Engineer, after a march of eleven miles from Onpoor, having at his Lordship's breakfast table requested me to accompany him with a Battalion of Sepoys to reconoitre Anchitty Droog, I set out with him instantly. On approaching the place, the Colonel sent a flag of truce to summon the Governor to surrender, the appearance of which, however, did not prevent our being fired upon from 9 lbs. from the upper Forts. Colonel Nisbet, an active young man of his Majesty's Service, joined us, and we continued reconoitring the Fort within 40 yards of the lower wall under cover of Trees and rocks to hide us from the heavy fire of the enemy. In about an hour the flag of Truce returned with a report the purport of which I did not hear, but which I imagine was misunderstood by Colonel Ross, who desired me to go to the lower fort with a flag, saying the Governor was willing to surrender, and that I might arrange the terms in any manner I liked, so that Tippoo's property should fall into our hands; I accordingly advanced to the Gate, and on discoursing the Guards and inhabitants, discovered that the latter were willing and anxious to give up, but that the Governor of the Fort, being obstinate, had

locked the Gates, and would not surrender, nor allow any of the Inhabitants to leave the place. I had no sooner heard this than the Guns from the Fort began again to open on our reconnoitring party, for which breach of the polite rules of war I upbraided the Guards with treachery, and thinking myself in a very precarious situation, returned with the Flag to Colonel Ross, who immediately dispatched my report to Lord Cornwallis. Colonel Ross sent to Camp for two 6 lbs., and on their arrival at about 90 yards from the Fort he desired me once more to advance with the flag of Truce to acquaint the Governor of the arrival of the Guns, and the fatal consequence of his further obstinacy, assuring me at the same time that our Guns would not fire till I returned, which I was to do as soon as I obtained either a direct answer, or thought the Governor was only wishing to gain time by useless prevarication. On the faith of the Colonel's assurance, I proceeded across the open plane to the Gate, and after delivering my message, I was surprised by the firing of Guns, and lost no time in accusing the Garrison of further treachery, as the Inhabitants of the lower fort pledged themselves on my approach that no firing should take place whilst I was there; the poor devils seemed more angry than I was, and accused me of breach of faith, saying I came to treat, and that our Guns were firing on them at the same time. This was but too true, for looking round I saw Captain Agnew, Aid-de-Camp to Colonel Maxwell, advancing in haste to tell me from Colonel Ross that our Guns had fired by mistake and without orders. I was much hurt at so base a mistake, as it left me at the mercy of a cruel rabble, and I merited any treatment the power they had over me might have induced. Finding the Governor really obstinate, I threatened the whole Garrison with instant death, and left the Gate with a request for the sake of saving human blood that the Killadar (or Governor), when he wished really to give up, should hang out a white cloth and come to the Gate in person, where I would attend and meet him. Colonel Ross apologized on my return for the mistake in firing, and on hearing my report opened our Battery first on the lower Fort, whence all the people hastened up to the top of the

hill, then elevating the Guns, a lucky shot overturned and broke in pieces the upper Gate, which accident alarmed the Garrison ; at this time Lieutenant Corner, with a Company of Sepoys, which had been sent round to the Gate of the lower Fort by a road I had pointed out, pushed thro' the lower works, and advanced to the 2nd Gateway, which being shut, he was obliged to halt, sometimes exposed to the sight of the Garrison of above 200 men, with fire arms, who lined the high walls immediately above his head ; frightened by the daring intrepidity of the brave young man, they did not fire on him. Colonel Ross, observing his situation, ordered another Company to support him, and directed me to hasten to Lieutenant Corner to tell him if he found any difficulty in breaking open the Gateway, he should fall back to the lower Fort, and permit the Colonel to clear the way for him with the 6 lbs. Colonel Nisbet asked me if he might accompany me on this errand ; in answer I requested on account of his rank that he would not ; however, he followed me with a quick pace. On coming to the lower Fort I could not see Lieutenant Corner or his Company, but pushing forward to the 2nd Fort I looked in at the Gateway, and saw his little party scrambling up a steep rock to the 3rd Fort, the Gate of which was shut, and the top lined with armed men, who looked fierce, and who had the power of cutting us off entirely ; with Colonel Nisbet's approval I ran down to the lower fort to hasten forward the supporting Company, lest the Garrison, seeing so few with Corner, should immediately cut him off. On joining the Company I found there was no European officer with it, and therefore took the command and led it up to the 3rd Fort, where I ordered it to halt, and pushed forward myself to the fourth enclosure, in which I saw Corner and Nisbet with the Governor, a respectable-looking old man, who was extremely happy to find me, as I could understand what he said, and could give him assurances of his life being safe ; our men were strongly bent on bayoneting all the Garrison ; however, as Corner had forced all the Gates, I told the Governor he must submit to any terms we liked, and that his own property should be safe, as also that of individuals. He replied, I am a servant

and a soldier, I fought and have been defeated, I hope no harm has been done, and that you will pardon any firing at you. I left the old fellow, and on advancing to the lower Fort to acquaint Colonel Ross of the success of the day, he begged I would lose no time in acquainting Lord Cornwallis of it, which I did, tho' overtaken by a heavy fall of rain in half an hour. His Lordship was highly pleased to hear of the Capture of the Fort, which contained some grain, 300 Bullocks, and 3 Guns, besides stores and other things; his Lordship dictated to me some orders respecting the necessary arrangements for the protection of the Prisoners, etc. In the evening Colonel Ross joined us at Dinner, and took the opportunity, seeing me present, to declare his very great obligation to me for my services during the storm and reconnoitring. The two Companys amounted to 50 and the Garrison as before mentioned, the sketch shows the strength of situation of the latter; but who can describe the effect of Lieutenant Corner's bravery as impressed on their minds. Five old women with brick batts might defy Lord Cornwallis in such a place. The escape of our little party from so dangerous a situation will ever surprise and impress me with gratitude to our good fortune."

LETTER IV.

"NIZAM'S CAMP, NEAR THE KISTNA,

"November 15, 1791.

"MY DEAR UNCLE,

"I shall proceed to state to you the few occurrences that happened to me since the date of my last letter, which I believe contained an account of the taking of Anchitty Droog. Early in August Lord Cornwallis sent two Battalions, two Independent Companies, and four Guns, with the Surveyors of the Army, from Oussore to explore the country between that place and the River Cavary, of which we were totally ignorant, and ordered me to go with the Detachment, but Independent of its Commander, and with five hundred of the Nizam's best horse, of which

I was to make choice from amongst the Chiefs most attached to our cause. During our first march nothing material happened, but next morning the Surveyors having expressed a wish to secure some of the Inhabitants for the sake of intelligence, I advanced with my Cavalry to a considerable distance in front, and detached small parties to scour the Woods; about Sun rise I observed a strong Hill Fort on the further end of a plane, and collecting my parties I pushed on at full Gallop to get between it and the villages near the hill, in hopes of catching some of the natives, and in this I was very successful, for as soon as I quitted the Woods I saw hundreds of poor people driving their cattle in haste to the Fort, which by this time had given the alarm by firing and Drum beating; on seizing some of the best dressed I learnt the name and strength of the Garrison, and finding there were no cannon in the place I advanced to within musket Shot of the Town at the bottom of the hill, and leaving my cavalry spread out on all sides with positive orders to stand fast at the places, I stationed them beyond the reach of musketry. I galloped back with some guides to search for the Detachment, and, being lucky, I soon found them and related what I had done, and proposed having a few Guns to take possession of the Fort, observing that it contained thousands of people and, indeed, more than could get any cover, for many hundreds were exposed on the rock on the outside, and a few shot would make such havock that the rest would call for quarter. Captain N. McLeod, the commander, replied that he had no orders to take hill forts himself or any to prevent me from taking them, and said I might try what I could do with my Cavalry. I agreed to do my utmost, observing that the lower Town would enrich my Cavalry, but that I was unwilling to expose the horse to any heavy fire, and requested his aid should it be necessary in bringing me back. I accordingly set out to attempt the Town, and, on passing the two Independent Companies, the officer with them expressed his wish for leave to accompany me with his Corps. I therefore returned to McLeod, who instantly

complied, observing that these two Companies were independent of him as I was, and requested I would not expose the people too much, which I promised as far as that they should share no more risk than I did. I had not proceeded far with this reinforcement before I saw my Cavalry going into the lower Town, and two men riding towards me, one with a flag of submission from the Garrison, and the other from my Cavalry Deputy, with a message informing me of his deferring giving any terms to the Garrison till he knew my orders, and that he would take the town. I pushed forward and placed our Sepoys at the gate of the Fort, to prevent the Inhabitants from being plundered, and desired such as were below to ascend the hill, and ordered the lower Town to be pillaged, which was soon done; 900 Bullocks and as many goats I delivered over for the use of the Grand Army, and proceeded to Camp about a mile from the hill. The next day the Captain of the Guides set out with five Companies of Sepoys, without baggage, for the purpose of reconnoitring the passes leading to the Cavary, and with the Determination of returning to Camp in the afternoon. I found his advanced Guard, and as soon as we had got about six miles from camp I pushed forward to take Cattle and Guides, and on arriving at a village within seven miles of the Cavari I found the Woods impenetrable, and immediately returned with my spoil to stop the Infantry from advancing unnecessarily, and to look out for another road. I had to come back to within eight miles of camp before I saw any opening, and observing a small mud Fort near a deserted village I discovered some lame and old men, who pointed out another road by which the Infantry had marched; as the path I had gone was the worst I had ever seen, and indeed so bad that the horses required to be led very often over the steep declivities and rocks in which they had lost most of their shoes, I was unwilling to fatigue them further, and therefore lodged them in the Fort to await my return. I set out with a single servant, and after a gallop of eight miles over an infamous road I overtook the Infantry and demanded the

reason of their going so far. The Captain of the Guides told me that he had come so far over bad roads that day that he could not return, and that he would remain where he was till morning, and after looking at the Cavari would return to Camp, to which he requested I would hasten back to acquaint McLeod of his situation, observing at the same time that my Cavalry might take in the prize Cattle, and by staying with him could be of no use. I returned as quick as I came, and, joining my Cavalry at the Fort, marched them to Camp, where we arrived late at night. I rode that day fifty-two miles and the horsemen thirty-six, without either of us eating or drinking. McLeod blamed the Captain of the Guides for deceiving him, and approved much of what I had done. Of 5,000 Bullocks I had surrounded only a few hundred reached Camp; they were so wild that the horsemen could not drive them. Next morning, my Cavalry being knocked up, I reconnoitred the country 12 miles in a new direction towards the Enemy's capital with my own Escort of Volunteers, which I formerly told you Lord Cornwallis had given me when I left Sindia's Camp. The Grand Army had made some movements after I left them, and I had the good fortune in this excursion to come in sight of it, so that on receipt of orders to join I was able to show the road, and thus ended our trip, every intention of it having been fulfilled by the Captain of the Guides. Our absence altogether was only nine days. I had kept Lord Cornwallis informed of my motions, and had sent Colonel Alexander Ross a drawing of Malikin Droog, the little Fort I had taken, and was received with open arms by both, who expressed great fear for my safety and happiness at my return. Another Excursion was proposed to me by his Lordship, to examine the fruitful District of the Bana Maul, in which I was to have 1,000 horse, but a new business occurred to prevent my reaping experience from it. The Nizam declared he would send his Son and Minister to his Lordship with a fresh army, and his Lordship, thinking the Nizam, as the Prince, should be the person with whom our Resident should reside, had ordered

Sir John Kennaway to stay at Court, and me to transact business with the Chiefs of the fresh Army. I told his Lordship candidly that the Nizam never interfered in business, but left everything to his Minister, who was, in fact, the sole Governor of the Country and Forces, and was the channel of all communication between our Resident and the Nizam, and that as Sir John Kennaway had long been accustomed to transact business with the Minister, of whose character he was perfectly acquainted, I deemed Sir John's presence might be useful to the Public in the Army. Lord Cornwallis and Colonel Ross approved of my suggestion, observing that it was both judicious and candid, but they told me I must return to fill Sir John's place during his absence, to which I begged leave to remonstrate, observing that I was eager to see the end of the fray, and was unwilling to leave the Army on any account. I received a severe Wig from Colonel Ross, who exclaimed that I must return, and that my own wishes were quite out of the question, and not worth a fig; and concluded with observing that there was nobody else to send or any so proper to be found as I was. His Lordship expressed his concern at the idea of losing me, but in kind terms said that I was the only person he could think of, and that every consideration must give way to necessity. In the course of a few days I was prepared for my journey, and his Lordship, at his public Table, took every avowed opportunity of repeating his regret for my departure and the favor in which he held me. He advised me one day at Table to get a Wife to remain at Court, as I would be there many years, but I approved of old Burke's (cousin of Edmund) reply that I was too young yet. When I took leave his Lordship entered fully into his political views and intentions, and detained me by the hand some time, giving me assurances of his regard for me.

"On the 24th of August I left Camp with a body Guard of 200 Sepoys, and in seven days arrived at Gurrarnconda, which being besieged by the Nizam's troops and a Detachment of our Sepoys, I staid there two days, being busily

employed in drawing views of the Fort and in reconnoitring its works, to enable me to send his Lordship the former, and a decided opinion with respect to the latter. I reached the Nizam's Court at this place on the 13th Sept., and again marched with the Resident and the Nizam's Son towards Gurramconda. On the 23rd October, my presence being necessary at Court, I took leave of the Resident and galloped here on the 24th, to take charge of the English affairs at this Court, and I continue in my employ with the satisfaction of knowing that I am trusted, and that I afford Government satisfaction.—I have an officer with a Company of Sepoys for my Body Guard, have Elephants, Tents, and numerous Train of Servants, and, in short, live in all the foolish pomp of a Nabob. As a mark of Confidence reposed in me by Government, I beg leave to acquaint you that I am empowered to draw for any money I like on Calcutta, Benares, or Moorshedabad to defray my public expences, which are left to my own discretion. Such, my dear Uncle, has been the effect of Lord Cornwallis' implicit confidence in the honor of Men who, perhaps, some years ago, thought it a good act, if not an honorable one, to cheat the Company on all occasions, that I believe few or none deceive him, and if I ever do, may I never see you again.—Lord Cornwallis has established a rule of proportioning Salaries according to the responsibility of appointments held by servants, but I am sorry to acquaint you that I am still an exception to it, notwithstanding that my station here enables me, if I preferred being a villain, to cheat the Company to almost any extent for pretences of Presents, etc., to the Natives. On my being asked lately by a Brother Resident in his Public letter what allowance I had, I was enabled with truth to reply that I was allowed to spend my own money, and that my Salary of 500 Rupees per month could not support my private expences, in which my Table expences for the officer and visitors are included, tho' this was not the case when I acted as Assistant, and lived with the Resident, who receives regularly whatever he likes to charge for House Keeping ; how long this untoward fortune

will mix with my good fortune I cannot tell, and tho' it may distress me, I shall not repine whilst I know I am acting in an honorable and weighty trust, particularly at this juncture, when I have to watch an Ally old in years, treachery, and deceit. I am certain of meeting with promotion if a strict attention to my employ is a good recommendation; however, I shall never spend a penny in expectation of a distant prospect more than I think absolutely necessary. My money is safely lodged in Mr. Colvin's hands, and laid out at 12 per cent. per annum, with a Company's Bonds as collateral security.—I observe my Friend James Anderson is hostile to our Indian War, and so am I to its longer continuance, but I think it was begun by necessity to crush the awful power of a cruel but able Tyrant, who has breathed the venom of enmity to our nation from his infancy, and too often glutted his revenge, tho' unprovoked, in the blood of our unfortunate countrymen, who fell into his hands by the long sword which he waved at our breasts, and which this War has already shewn, beyond a doubt, that he could, under other circumstances, have plunged into our very existence in the East. Our Allies have acted like base abominable villains, affraid of the foe's power and of ours; they have made no exertion in our favor, but under cover of our Gallant Soldiers have siezed the foe's unprotected and distant Districts, and have prevented any Cavalry from going for service to him, which would not have been the case had they been neuter, and had Tippo been able to recruit his weak Squadrons of horse, our fate and existence in India would ere this have been at an end.—The War is ruinous to the Company, but even the miser will part with Cash rather than life. I wish a speedy end to it, and happen when it will I am in the way of having a distinguished share in bringing it about.

“(Continued 26th Jany., 1792.)—I am sorry to acquaint you of the failure of Messieurs Moubray and Graham for a large sum (reported £200,000), and that notwithstanding I had taken my concerns from them in August, 1790, I

find that by a conduct apparently full of neglect I am likely to lose £400 by the rogues. The circumstances are these, as reported in the following extract of a letter from my present Attorneys, Messrs. Colvin and Baratte, dated 15th January: 'We have fortunately no connection with them, and we congratulate you on your having so little. When we renewed Bannarasay's Bond to you for the principal and interest Rs. 16,800 in toto, we were to receive an additional security of 3,000 Rupees in Paper, which was to be furnished by Graham and Moubray, but we never could get it from them, and the security we now hold is little more than the principal of the Bond. Banarassy was their Banian, and a man at one time of very large property; we imagine he must be a good deal affected by their failure.' The Company's Bond I have from Banarassy for Rs. 16,800 is worth at 17 per cent., the present discount, 13,944, and the 6 months' interest which I will lose on 16,800 Rupees will be 1,008 Rupees, so that my loss altogether appears 3,864. . . . I have written to my Attorneys as follows: 'After thinking myself fortunate in getting rid of Moubray in August, 1790, it is with great concern and surprise that I read your late letter making me a loser by your apparent inattention to my concerns during my absence in the service of my country, when I might have expected your particular care. I will thank you for a statement of your reasons for lending my money without having, in the first instance, ample security in Company's Bonds agreeably to my repeated orders; and for so doing to that house far less to any subordinate person in it, after the warning and suspicion I told you and assigned for discharging them, also for your not, on their first refusal to pay you the additional security of R. 3,000, protest against them, and either oblige their fulfilling that engagement without delay, and pay back to you 3,000 Rs. or whatever sum exceeded the security they had previously given you.—A Constituent must have confidence in the prudence and caution of his Attorney, and I will be extremely concerned if, by your answer, I am to lose either; however, you must be sensible of the conse-

quence, and that having twice burnt my fingers amongst you, I will not be so rash as to place further confidence in hands who may not seem deserving of it.'—The Devil help them; they are a bad sett altogether. I cannot afford to lose my money at this rate in my present appointment, but I am in a good line, and am in no fear of being able to make up by and by, and to see you with a competency at all events in 1800. . . . This letter has been in hand a long time, but I am situated here in the centre of Politics and public correspondence on the operations of the War, and terms for the ensuing peace with the Governments of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, besides having my sides covered by the heavy correspondence of the two new Baronets, the one in the South and the other in the West, as also Lord Cornwallis, with whom I have a constant intercourse of letters. It may be pleasing to you and flattering to me to state that tho' I entered on my change of affairs when they were in hot water, I have been able to carry on my business without rancour or animadversion, and to manage all in the most smooth and satisfactory manner. I am once more under orders to march, and am happy to say I have prevailed on the Nizam to take the field with a large army in person.—I shall have the honour of leading him towards Lord Cornwallis, with whom he is anxious to have an interview, and tho' the visit may not take place till near the conclusion of the War, his Highness's vicinity with a large force will, no doubt, tend to hasten peace, and to serve my Country. When I see his Lordship again, I shall not fail to solicit an ample reimbursement of all my expenses, which, I doubt not, he will grant as freely as I can wish from the regard he expresses for me on account of my services.—I will write you whenever anything new, be it good or bad, happens to me.

“ The Nizam's son and Sir John Kennaway were to join Lord Cornwallis's army on this day at the distance o 40 miles north of Seringapatam, the Enemy's Capital, the siege of which with him in it will commence early in Feby., and no doubt end in its fall in March or April at furthest.

General Abercromby's Army is now 40 miles West of that Capital, and will join his Lordship and afterwards cover the siege. We have 70 Battering Guns, Grains and Provisions in plenty, and ample force to ensure a speedy Peace. Be so good as remember me kindly to my worthy Patrons, Mr. David and James Anderson. Colonel Duff, my worthy friend, commands the Bull Dogs (Battery Train) and Artillery of the Grand Army; he desires his kindest remembrances to you and to my Father, who, he often told me, sent him back to India, and strongly advised the measure of which he says he has every reason to approve the adoption.—I am ever, with the truest sentiments of Gratitude and Duty. . . .

“My direction in future had better be via Madras—
Lieutenant W^m. Steuart at the Nizam's Court, Hyderabad.”

LETTER V.

“PRANGUL,

“*March 20, 1792.*”

“... I humbly entreat the favor of a few lines to inform me of your health and situation from time to time, and most faithfully promise to trouble you several times every season. As a specimen I shall now acquaint you of my concerns, etc., up to this juncture. I am still acting Resident at the Nizam's Court, involved in troublesome Political Discussions which hitherto have tended to my advantage by encrease of the favor of Government, and tho' I have not received any Salary for my Employ, I am in great hopes that I shall not be allowed to lose by so distinguished an appointment. It is with no small pleasure that exclusive of these hopes I can inform you I am, notwithstanding all my heavy expenses, worth at this time £4,000 Sterling, of which upwards of £3,000 are employed on Security of Company's Bonds at 12 per cent. per annum. The loss I mentioned in my last by the failure of Messieurs Graham and Moubray is reduced by Mr. Colvin's late care and great attention from £400 to £60, and there is even a

small chance of saving that. I am happy to hear from Mr. Colvin that he had no connection or concern with the late Bankrupts at Calcutta, and that his House is in a thriving way.

"Now, my dear Uncle, I think I may defy the frowns of fortune and safely say that I cannot be placed in any situation allowing the worst such as returning to act as a Subaltern in the Army without having it in my power to visit you for good and all in 1800. I have the best prospect before me, and may by remaining Assistant some years longer add to the Principal and Interest on the above sum very considerably, and should fortune favor my advance to be a Resident at any Court, some of which are now vacant, I would in two or three years amass a fortune, as the allowance is £3,600 per annum over and above all expenses whatever. I will be glad to have your opinion in respect to the propriety or impropriety of delaying my return, whatever my allowance may be, after I have obtained a competency, also your opinion of what I ought to consider sufficient. I have few wishes myself, and will be guided very much, if not entirely, by those of my Relations.

"You will be happy to hear that Peace has been concluded with Tippoo after a glorious victory on the advantageous terms of £1,100,000 to be paid by him to the Company in one year, and upwards of £600,000 per annum in country with two of his sons as hostages till the performance of the first part and delivery of the territory to us. I am happy to add that a great part of the first Instalment has already been paid to Lord Cornwallis, who has also received the hostages, and only waits the delivery of the Country and Forts. All moderate men I think ought to approve of the terms, but on such points opinions will differ. By proper management I hope to see Tipoo in a few years our best and most able Friend. Our Allies reap the advantage of their connection with us under the impression of having been traitors to their engagements in such a manner as to be sensible that we must think them base villains in whom no trust will be due in future. The Nizam was less

powerful than the Marrattas, and tho' somewhat dependant on their wishes I am happy to say his exertions exceeded theirs. In this, some merit will no doubt be justly ascribed to Sir John Kennaway's and my endeavours for the public good.

"I am afraid I am losing a brave and honourable Friend by the expected loss of General Medows, into whose good graces I was introduced by Lord Cornwallis. But as Colonel Duff writes me perhaps I shall be equally in favor with any Successor his Lordship may have; his words are that he is convinced my character is so well known and established in this country as to render it almost impossible for any circumstances to prevent my success in the Service. I believe, too, that few men can be more sincerely attached to me than he is."

LETTER VI.

"HYDERABAD,

"September 20, 1792.

"... I think I may be spared till 1800; however, I have half a wish already to be of your party, and may reckon the next eight years unusually long. At the end of them I shall no doubt be able to retire with a competency, having now a prospect of being long at this Court or of getting something better. Since my last letter Sir John Kennaway has applied to Lord Cornwallis for an allowance for my trouble during the War, which, as not being an adequate compensation, I dare say I shall soon receive; it amounts to £750, and by saving since the Baronet's return, I find, if I get the above allowance, I shall be worth at the end of this year £5,000; this is the best news I have to send you except that the cash is safely lodged at 12 per cent. interest per annum for six months with collateral security of Company Paper. This I cannot expect hereafter, and have ordered Mr. Colvin to lend my money on the above kind of security only and never on any other terms except the interest of course diminished, a consideration that will never induce

me to risk loans to individuals on security of Ships, houses, or any such trumpery. Mr. Colvin informs me he has settled the concern I had with a man in Moubray's employ without any loss of principal or interest, the whole having lately been paid ; in justice to Mr. Colvin he offered to take the risk of the £400 on his house without my insisting on it or intending to benefit by the right I had to be freed from loss in a loan made for me by him on inadequate security of Company's paper which was directly in opposition to the orders I gave him for its disposal. From what you mention of remittances—namely, that none of the money would be spent, and that it would yield about $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., as I can get 12 now and at least 8 hereafter, there is no alternative but keeping all I have here until it can be useful at home. At the same time, being sensible that the refusal to spend any money I might remit proceeds from the kind wishes of my Relations for my more speedy return, I shall deem it incumbent on me to retrench my own expenses in this country as much as possible in order that I may be the sooner able to gratify them by a visit. It may be necessary to say something more of my intentions and prospects. Sir John Kennaway's Brother intended to go to Europe last year, but deferred the trip in expectation of Sir John's being able to accompany him this year, which on account of the new Title is impracticable, and the Brother goes alone. Captain W^m Kirkpatrick was Secretary to the Hon'ble C. Stuart during Lord Cornwallis's absence, and acquitted himself so well in that station that he says his Lordship received him kindly, and declared he would give him the first vacant Residency at a foreign Court ; in consequence of this he lately wrote to his particular friend Sir John, requesting the latter would apply to Government for the Residency at Lucnow, in order to make room for him (Kirk.) here ; Sir John told me of this, and that he scorned to apply for any appointment, and that the one in question was by far the best in India, as also the first in his wish ; as he has sent this answer to Kirk., I think it likely the latter will contrive to show it to Lord Cornwallis, and that it is

probable such an arrangement may take place. It will be subject of regret to me, as I imagine I stand the best chance of succeeding Sir John if he remained much longer ; besides, I have no confidence in Kirk.'s prudence, tho' I know his honorable principles, and I saw him behave so ill after Sir James Anderson as to bring down the contempt of his Lordship on him. He is much my friend, and I know he would be anxious to procure me an encrease of Salary in which if he succeeded I would remain, but if I can get anything better or equal to this appointment I will prefer following the dictates of my feelings to remaining here with a man whose conduct I shall have constant reason to disapprove. From its being very unusual with Lord C. to make such declarations, and from the knowledge I have of his bad opinion of Kirk.'s prudence, I am inclined to doubt the assertion or its sincerity, even if his Lordship made it, and have some thoughts of visiting Lord C. at Calcutta about the beginning of 1793 to sound whether I can do anything better for myself ; or, at all events, to procure his recommendation of me to his Successor. I cannot resolve on this trip at present, as much will depend on the accounts I may receive from Head Quarters of his Lordship's motions or intentions in my favor. From my having acted as Resident in Sir John's absence and been allowed to transact a great deal of the business since his return, I imagine he would prefer me as his successor to any other except Kirk., who, being indebted to him, and no likelihood of other means of repayment, the preference shown to him I can only account for on this plea, or that of Sir John's getting Lucnow on condition of providing for Kirk. (patrick).

" If Kirk. finds that he cannot come here soon he will no doubt endeavour to be provided for elsewhere, and in that case I think I may stand a good chance of stepping into Sir John's place by and bye. You will excuse this long detail, tho' it ascertains nothing ; it may give room for you to expect a change, and be assured that in whatever happens I will wave feelings to prudence for the obtainment of the object of visiting you

"Colonel Duff writes me he will return to India if he obtains his Rank on the establishment, but as the Directors in opposition to Lord C.'s recommendation have already decided against him, I imagine he will not be able to alter their resolve. His absence at this time is particularly unfortunate for me ; he was always my warm and zealous friend, and at Calcutta could have kept Lord C. in mind of his repeated promises to serve me. When he made an application to his Lordship for a Residency at a foreign Court his Lordship replied that I was too well known to render any application necessary, and that I should not be passed unnoticed ; however, my dear uncle, you have been long in a Court Circle, and will easily conceive that promises fail in performance when supporters do not appear. I have written to my friend the Colonel some particulars by this conveyance concerning my situation which he may perhaps be able to serve me in.

LETTER VII.

"HYDERABAD,

"December 26, 1792.

". . . I am always very busy, and just now particularly so in preparing a Treaty of Guarantee with our Allies the Nizam and Marrattas against Tippo Sultaun's future encroachments on any of our territories, which I imagine will shortly be concluded, but I find it is much easier to make treaties with the Natives than to get them to accomplish the terms of them afterwards. Tippo is an instance of this, as he has not paid the money stipulated by the last Treaty at Seringapatam, and still keeps many of our Countrymen in cruel bondage contrary to the article on that head ; however, we have his hostage Sons in our hands, and, of course, will keep them till he performs his engagements, which I am sanguine in thinking he will soon do if properly managed. . . .

LETTER VIII.

"NIZAM'S COURT, BEDER,

"May 10, 1794.

"MY DEAR UNCLE,

"After having been kept in doubt since April, 1793, to this day, whether I was to be an Aid-de-Camp to the Governor-General of Bengal, Persian Interpreter to Sir Robt. Abercromby, an Embassader at a foreign Court, or Aid-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief (which I might have been had I liked, the appointment having been kept vacant for me four months), I am at length, by the appointment of Post-Master here, which has just been conferred on me by Government, with a salary of £40 per mensem exclusive of my former allowances, enabled to address you with satisfaction, the only way in which I like writing you at all; and indeed, had I troubled you sooner, when labouring under suspense and a relaxed habit of body occasioned by stress of business, you would have had but a very disagreeable letter. To avoid this I have for many months preferred delay, and happy am I now to say that besides being as pleased as a Prince, and nearly as well as ever, I am actually in orders to attend as the Honourable Company's Commissioner to settle, if necessary, litigated Boundary matters between the Nizam and Tippoo Sultaun, and that I have a fair prospect of being an Ambassador at an Indian Court in the course of this or the next year, having already a Majority in the Supreme Council in my favor, and the Governor-General of it. Depend on my industry being duly exerted towards promoting the attainment of this object, and allow me to state what I am worth as more acceptable news in my Dear Father and Mother's eyes than all the prospects and promises I can have from Courts. In short, I have upwards of £6,000 at 10 per Cent. interest per annum in good hands, and as my Salaries at this time amount to £1,200 per annum, £800 of which, at least, I expect to save, I leave it to you to determine when I shall be able—or, in other words, when I ought—to retire.

"I have received the repeated thanks of the Governor-

General publicly for my late conduct at this Court, and when he nominated me eventually to be a Commissioner, the terms he made use of were flattering in the extreme; Sir John Kennaway recommended me to him and his Council as a person well qualified for any Residency in India; Captain Kirkpatrick wishes his Brother* to succeed me here, and seems more anxious than I am myself in endeavours to get me something better. However, as I do not like a change for fear of losing my present line, nothing short of a Residency (£3,600 per annum exclusive of expences) shall tempt me to move from hence.

"Sir John Kennaway latterly was very much my friend, and I must ever consider myself highly indebted to him, particularly for the Post-Master ship.

"I am again acting Resident at this Court in consequence of Captain Kirkpatrick's absence at a place about 100 miles hence. Anxious to give you the above, which I consider agreeable news, I have only to apologize for not entering into more particular details; however, I cannot help assuring you of my fond love and attachment to my Dear Father, Mother, Sisters, and Brothers, all of whom I beg will accept my best wishes for their health and happiness.

"Having much business always on hand, I shall not make rash promises in respect to writing, lest I should fail in performing them; however, I think you may at all times depend on receiving accounts of any success I meet with, as there is no feeling or gratification I will not sacrifice in the same manner as I did lately to your superior judgment and opinion.

"I cannot conclude without acknowledging the high sense I entertain of the favor I have received from the Messieurs Anderson and Colonel Duff, and soliciting frequent tidings of your health and happiness, than which nothing can be more precious in the estimation of,

"My Dear Uncle,

"Your most affectionate and

"Loving Nephew,

"WM. STEUART."

* James Achilles Kirkpatrick, "Hushmat Jung" (1764-1805).

THE HOMS-BAGHDAD REVELATIONS.

UNDER the title of "La Diplomatie Secrète sous la Troisième République, 1910-1911," the *Courrier Européen* of Paris, which counts among its directors M. Georg Brandes and two Professors at the Sorbonne, publishes a series of letters and documents relating to the projected Homs-Baghdad Railway, which are of a highly sensational character. They throw a vivid and, one might say, a lurid light upon the influence of finance upon the Press and upon Diplomacy. They deal with questions in the Near and the Middle East, which are of vital importance to Great Britain as well as to France. They involve a great French newspaper. Our own Foreign Office and our own countrymen occupy a prominent place in the foreground of the picture which they bring to view. In the following summary of the publication we cannot do more than indicate the nature of the correspondence and of the perspective which it opens up.

The correspondence begins with a letter, dated Constantinople, March 15, 1910, addressed by a certain Yusuf Said Bey, Keeper of the Archives to the Turkish Government, to a member of an eminent firm of civil engineers in London. It is continued by a series of letters, going down to August, 1910, from the pens of the various gentlemen interested in the Homs-Baghdad scheme, including prominent public men in England and M. André Tardieu, foreign editor of the *Temps*, in France. The collection comprises the

correspondence with the British and French Foreign Offices. It is accompanied by a letterpress, for which the *Courrier Européen* is responsible, and which weaves it into a composite whole. We prefer, however, to leave this letterpress on one side, and to allow the letters to tell their own story.

In the spring of 1909 Yusuf Said Bey applied to the Turkish Government for a concession to construct a railway between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. As a result of *pourparlers* between the applicant and the Government, the project took the shape of a railway from Homs in Syria where it joined the Syrian lines (French), through Palmyra and across the Syrian Desert to the Valley of the Euphrates, and so on to Baghdad. The Turkish Government attached the request that there should be a branch between Palmyra and Damascus and that there should be no kilometric guarantee. Having become sponsor and official applicant for this scheme, Yusuf Said then set about to find the necessary capitalists; and in May, 1909, he invested a certain Bernard Maimon, a British subject, with exclusive and irrevocable powers for forming the necessary syndicates and companies. Yusuf Said was to look after the interests of the scheme in Constantinople, and Bernard Maimon was to deal with the foreign capitalists.

The antecedents, both of Yusuf Said and of Bernard Maimon, came out in the subsequent trial of the latter in France on a charge of being a party to the theft of French State documents, of which a fairly full account will be found in the *Times* newspaper for April 8, 11, 20, and 24, June 3, and July 14, 1911. Maimon, who is far the more interesting of the pair, is said to be a Turkish Jew, converted to Protestantism by the English Church Mission, and brought up in London, where he became an active member of the Mission and was naturalized. Subsequently he was despatched by the Mission to Baghdad, but appears to have been obliged to abandon the post. His subsequent career was evidently of an extremely

chequered nature, and he is described by the *Times* correspondent in Paris as "a type of certain international adventurers who infest Paris, where they live by their wits, which are frequently sharper than those of their neighbours." At the time of the negotiations for the Homs-Baghdad Railway he was already past middle age. As for Yusuf Said, he appears to have played an unenviable rôle under Abdul Hamid, but to have ingratiated himself later with the Young Turks.

Commissioned by Yusuf Said to make the necessary financial arrangements, Maimon appears, in the first instance, to have addressed himself to British capitalists. By 1910 he is in relations with the firm of civil engineers in London, to a member of which the first letter is addressed, and early in that year he visits Constantinople with that gentleman, where they have interviews with Turkish statesmen. It was evident from the first that they might encounter opposition from Germany, on the ground that a railway from the Syrian coast to Baghdad would, of course, compete with the German Baghdad Railway. But Maimon's plans were carefully laid to avoid this awkward corner. In the first place, he was well aware that the Germans were very anxious to obtain a 4 per cent. increase in the Turkish Customs duties, which would help to find the revenues requisite for their immense project. It would be necessary to obtain the consent of France and England to this increase, both these Powers having treaty rights in the matter. The door to the increase could thus only be opened with their consent, and Homs-Baghdad might be driven through the door. Moreover, he counted, evidently with some reason, on the aversion felt by the promoters of the Baghdad Railway towards Sir William Willcocks's schemes for irrigating Mesopotamia and conveying its products by railway to the Mediterranean. He played upon this aversion during his visit to the Director of the Baghdad Railway in Constantinople, and he subsequently arrived at an arrangement with his friends in England and

France, under which there was to be an extension of the Homs-Baghdad Railway from Deir, on the Euphrates, to Aleppo, where it would join the Baghdad Railway, this extension being given to the Germans to construct. The visit to Constantinople promised well for the success of the scheme. The British civil engineer returned to London and Maimon to Paris, well satisfied with the results of their mission.

The British promoter and his friends in London at once approached the Foreign Office. Sir Edward Grey was asked what capitalists he would like to see associated with the financial side of the scheme. He advocated the claims of Sir Ernest Cassel. But the French Foreign Office objected, and the choice of a financier had to be left in abeyance. The promoters were greatly encouraged by the warmth with which the British Foreign Office took up the scheme; but it was pointed out to them that they would have to offer one half of the capital to France, owing to arrangements previously made with the French Government on the subject of railways in Turkey. The idea was that French capital should construct the western half of the line, and British capital the eastern half, ending at Baghdad.

The promoters were at the same time informed (April 8, 1910) that the French Ambassador, M. Cambon, had already approached our Foreign Office on the subject of a railway from Homs to Baghdad. The French Government contemplated applying for the concession and would be prepared to offer a half-share to an English group.

Meanwhile Maimon had laid his plans for the formation of a powerful group in Paris. The keystone of the fabric was to be M. André Tardieu, foreign editor of the *Temps* newspaper. M. Tardieu was allowed to make his own terms. They were, first, that the concession was not to be transferred without an appeal to French co-operation and, second, that the formation of the French group should be left in the hands of M. Tardieu, who was to act as intermediary between the promoters and any French group.

This having been arranged, M. Tardieu approached the French Foreign Minister, M. Pichon, with whom he enjoyed close personal relations. He provided M. Pichon (April 15) with a detailed history of Yusuf Said Bey's project, and of the steps already taken in England to put it into execution. The section from Homs to Deir, and the branch from Palmyra to Damascus was to be constructed by French industry, and the section from Deir to Baghdad by that of Great Britain. M. Pichon approved the arrangement, and promised to instruct M. Cambon at once to see Sir Edward Grey with a view to establishing a definite understanding. At the same time the Under-Secretary in the Eastern Department of the French Foreign Office, who happened to be leaving on a visit to Constantinople, was instructed to communicate the proposals of the promoters to the French Ambassador in the Turkish capital.

Up to this point the progress of the scheme had been both rapid and smooth. It was now destined to encounter opposition, and that in unexpected quarters. The French Ambassador in London put the first spoke into the wheel. He informed M. Tardieu, who came over to see him (April 22), that the understanding at which he had arrived with the British Foreign Office was to the effect that the railway from Baghdad to the Persian Gulf should be a British undertaking, and that from Homs to Baghdad a French one. French capital might participate in the Baghdad Gulf line, and British capital in that from Homs to Baghdad. But the financial control of the latter was to be French, and that of the former British. M. Cambon added that he had seen the British Under-Secretary of State the day before, and that he had concurred in this view of the question. This was certainly not the view which, according to the letters, was expressed by the same Under-Secretary fourteen days earlier to the British promoters. Greatly disappointed, M. Tardieu at once visited our Foreign Office, where, however, M. Cambon's interpretation was upheld, with the exception that the promoters

were informed that the question of the participation of foreign capital in the Baghdad-Gulf Railway had not yet been considered.

Here was a pretty situation ! The formula of M. Cambon—*Homs-Baghdad, affaire française ; Baghdad-Golfe, affaire anglaise*—squared with nothing that had gone before. It was the British group that had been first in the field. They had sounded our Foreign Minister on the subject as early as December, 1909, and not a word had been dropped to them of any French application. As late as April 8 they had been informed that the French Ambassador had visited the Foreign Office, and that the French Government would be prepared to offer a half share to an English group. It had even been suggested to them that the eastern half of the line, apparently from Deir, on the Euphrates, to Baghdad, should be constructed by British capital. The Cambon formula made short work with all these arrangements. It had no sooner been uttered, when our Foreign Minister acquiesced. The British promoters were left to swallow their discomfiture as best they could. On the French side the situation disclosed a complete divergence of view between the French Foreign Minister and the French Ambassador in London. The impartial reader will ask himself how it is possible for British or French industrial enterprise to obtain their due shares in the commercial development of the East when, in face of the persistent and concentrated efforts of German diplomacy in that region, a French Ambassador formulates claims which were unknown to his own Foreign Minister a week before they were made, and which completely alter the basis of a project which had already received, in its main lines, the full support of the British Foreign Office. Our surprise is only increased as the story develops.

Loyal to his British friends, M. Tardieu, upon his return to Paris, visited M. Pichon and combated the Cambon formula. He gave three main reasons for his dissent (letter of April 24). M. Cambon advocated application

by France for a concession in the abstract. Such an application would not only offend the Young Turks, by setting aside the project of Yusuf Said, but would isolate French diplomacy, separating it from that of her partner, England. M. Tardieu himself was already bound to the British group on a half-and-half basis. Lastly, if M. Cambon's views were adopted, the British Foreign Office would probably negotiate separately with the Germans in the question of the Baghdad-Gulf Railway. England and Germany would probably arrive at an arrangement in that question and, in that case, the railway from Homs to Baghdad would be likely to fall through altogether. M. Tardieu added that, if M. Pichon were to concur in these opinions of M. Cambon's, he himself would be inclined to agree with M. Victor Bérard in a policy of abstention pure and simple, leaving the whole field open to the Germans, so far as France was concerned.

The spirit of compromise is essentially a British virtue, or defect. M. Tardieu's loyalty, as well as his logic, may well have appeared to the British promoters to involve the burial of the project. They favoured an arrangement. By April 26 a new character had been given to the scheme. It was agreed that French capital should preponderate in the scheme as a whole, that there should be a majority of Frenchmen on the Board, and that the Chairman should be French. On the other hand, the technical direction should be British. M. Tardieu himself was to be the first Chairman.

But the French Ambassador in Constantinople had not yet had his word. His attitude was destined to be far more destructive than that of his colleague in London. Where M. Cambon had attacked the form only of the project, M. Bompard combated the principle. The Turks, he urged, did not want the line. It could not, he considered, pay by itself, and the Turkish Government would never be induced to find the necessary guarantees. The railway from Homs to Baghdad would affect the receipts of the

German Baghdad Railway—receipts which were to operate in diminution of the guarantees already given to the latter railway. M. Bompard came to Paris and personally urged these objections upon the French Foreign Secretary. He appears to have added that the Turks “would never permit the English to obtain a foothold in Mesopotamia, or to construct a railway from Baghdad to the Gulf.” Also, that French diplomacy, in promoting the Homs-Baghdad project, would encounter acute opposition on the part of Germany.

This intervention on the part of M. Bompard gave the death-blow to the Homs-Baghdad Railway project. We are brought face to face with a grave divergence of views between the French Ambassador in London, his colleague in Constantinople, and the Minister responsible for the policy of France. Why these three statesmen did not confer together when the project was first mooted is a question which receives no answer. German opposition was, no doubt, the central factor which determined its failure, as M. Tardieu recognized in the columns of the *Temps* for April 9, 1911—an article written nearly a year later. This, of course, had been foreseen by the promoters from the first, and they had laid their plans accordingly. The question was: Were those plans likely to succeed? Plainly, it was the duty of the French and British Foreign Offices to confer together and with their respective Ambassadors in Constantinople as to the answer to be given to that question before lending encouragement to the scheme.

As for the promoters, whatever we may think of their cause, they were, to say the least, unfortunate in the choice of their instruments. On June 2, 1910, Bernard Maimon was found guilty by the French Correctional Court on the charge of being a party to the abstraction of State documents from the French Foreign Office. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. As for Yusuf Said, Keeper of the Archives in Turkey, the letterpress informs us that he was arrested in Constantinople about the same time that Maimon

was taken in Paris, and on a similar charge, preferred by his own Government.

The moral aspects of these revelations cannot be ignored, though, of course, it would be easy to give them a twist which would be unfair to the parties concerned in them. It is becoming fashionable in certain quarters to regard the financier, the industrialist, and merchant, as common enemies, of whose machinations in the sphere of diplomacy it is always necessary to beware. That, of course, is a wholly one-sided and, therefore, false view. Highly organized societies, like some of the nations of modern Europe, have developed their processes of production and their mastery over the laws of Nature to a degree far surpassing the attainments of the more backward peoples. Their material accomplishments transcend the needs of their own countries, and become commensurate with the needs of vastly larger areas. This expansive material process constitutes a marked feature of the present time, and, if rightly inspired and duly controlled, is capable of conferring great benefits, not only upon the peoples from whom it emanates, but also upon those which form its natural objective. The merchant, the civil engineer, and the capitalist, are the advance-guard of the movement. But the movement itself rises, like a tide, behind them. Adaptation, not opposition, to the movement would seem to be the course at once of safety and of advantage which is imposed upon the more backward peoples.

It is the province of prudent statesmanship to regulate this movement in such a way that it may not lead to dissensions among its authors, or to political oppression of the more backward peoples. The time must come when they, in turn, will have assimilated their lesson, and an equilibrium of forces will be set up. But prudent statesmanship is in these days the resultant of several agencies, among which not the least is the Press. It must be difficult for the Press to perform its proper functions when it is in any way mixed

up with financial speculations. Those who direct the course of the ship should obviously have no other interest than that of the passengers as a whole. The case of public men who are private members of Parliament is, no doubt, somewhat different. It is a good thing that we should have in Parliament men whose personal interests are directly affected by the great questions of the day. They can speak at first hand out of the fulness of their knowledge. It often happens that such men are prompted by the consciousness of their own self-interest to take a view which may almost seem exaggerated on the side of detachment ; but, whatever view they take, their private interest in the question should be known and avowed. Another feature of these revelations is the light which they throw upon the practice which appears to prevail in the British and French Foreign Offices of suggesting the names of financiers. It is, no doubt, the duty of a Government Department to inquire into the records of those who claim diplomatic support ; but this is a very different thing from selecting such individuals themselves. Were this practice to become common, a wholly undue strain would be placed upon average official human nature.

The subject itself, around which all this extraneous matter has unfortunately collected, is one of profound interest. It raises the whole question of the policy to be pursued by France and England in connection with the great economic changes which are rapidly taking place in the Turkish Empire. This subject has been treated in a most masterly way by M. Tardieu himself. In a series of editorial articles of *Le Temps*, which appeared in the early spring of 1911, he called for close co-operation between French and British diplomacy, and urged that both should be focussed upon definite objectives. He argued that only in this way would France and England obtain their rightful shares in the economic development of Turkey. In a phrase full of pregnant sarcasm he declared that face to face with a Triple Alliance which acted we had a *Triple Entente* which slept—which applied to every problem the

indolent *Va bene* of the Venetian gondolier, and soothed its optimism with the lullaby of its illusions (*Temps*, February 1, 1911). France had definite interests in Syria, and England in Mesopotamia. Surely it was far wiser for both Powers to concentrate upon the development of these interests, and to co-operate for this purpose, rather than to dissipate themselves upon this or that scheme throughout the length and breadth of the Ottoman Empire. To ourselves, who read these articles while still in ignorance of the Homs-Baghdad scheme, their reasoning appeared to be unassailable. Even on the ground of facility, and, therefore, of efficiency in carrying out great commercial and industrial enterprises, it is surely better that the nationals of one country, speaking the same language and looking at things from the same point of view, should be told off to labour in a particular area. This principle has, indeed, already become operative in the case of Germany. Our own countrymen have been edged out of Asia Minor, where German industry have been given a free run.

Even if Germany were to aspire to industrial and commercial exclusiveness in Asiatic Turkey as a whole, she would find the task too great even for her energies and resources. Bismarck's motto, *Qui trop embrasse mal étreint*, is surely applicable to her case. In this fact, which Germany will, sooner or later, be obliged to recognize, lies the hope of an understanding between her and France and England as to the part which each country is to play in the economic development of Turkey. Their persistent rivalries are as much opposed to the economic progress of the Ottoman Empire as they are inimical to their own interests.

As for the political aspects of the question, it can never be to the interest of any of these Powers to assume political responsibilities in Turkey. It is, therefore, much more probable that, when they have once composed their suspicions of one another, Turkish suspicions of their motives will also be set at rest.

It remains to say a few words about the project itself. Its outlines have been given above: a railway from Homs, in Syria, connected with the sea at the port of Tripoli, and passing through Palmyra across the Syrian Desert to Deir, on the Euphrates, whence it was to proceed to Baghdad. The main line would have two branches, one from Palmyra to Damascus, and the other from Deir to Aleppo, where it would join the German Baghdad Railway. This latter branch was to be offered to the Germans to construct. The railway would be built on the American principle—as cheaply as possible. Its length between Homs and Baghdad was estimated at 500 miles, and its cost between those two points at £4,000 a mile, making the total cost, after allowing for two years' interest on the capital during construction, about £3,000,000. There was to be no kilometric guarantee for working expenses, but interest on the capital sum would be guaranteed by the Turkish Government at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., besides, possibly, any deficiency in the cost of working.

It may be doubted whether a railway between the main points indicated could be built with a mileage of only 500 miles in such a way as to serve the needs of the country through which it would pass. From Deir to the point on the Euphrates where it would strike across to Baghdad, such a railway ought to follow approximately the course of the river, in order to link together the centres of population which are found upon its course. It had never been actually settled at what precise point the railway would strike across to Baghdad. The Germans, who have taken care to peg out their claims in these regions, have already secured the right to extend the Baghdad Railway from the neighbourhood of Baghdad to Hit, on the Euphrates. That was evidently a difficult nut for the promoters to crack. We have seen that they were willing to surrender to German construction the important arm of their projected railway between Deir and Aleppo. If the Germans could make good their claim to the lower extremity between Hit

and Baghdad, two great sections of the line, an upper section and the final section, would be in German hands.

Since the project was first mooted, the Germans have taken particular care that they should not be caught napping by its possible realization. They have acquired from the Government of the Young Turks the all-important concession of a railway to connect Aleppo with the coast of Syria at Alexandretta, with powers to construct and operate at Alexandretta a first-class modern port. The distance between Deir and Alexandretta would not seem to be greater than the distance between Deir and Tripoli, and the former line would have the advantage of passing through a well-watered country, instead of through a desert. In the Homs-Baghdad scheme we recognize the offspring of Sir William Willcocks, whose conclusions would seem to be open to the fatal objection that they would deprive Mesopotamia of the use of its natural waterways as main avenues of transport and communication. In their place artificial communications would be set up, in the form of railways across the Syrian Desert to the Mediterranean. It is possible that this feature in an otherwise grandiose conception may be modified in the light of common sense.

It seems, however, certain that a railway along the Valley of the Euphrates, as well as its connection with the hinterland of Syria, is only a question of time. A Euphrates railway is needed by the regions through which it would pass. It would constitute the shortest line of communication between the Mediterranean and Baghdad across well-watered and fairly populous districts. It could be easily policed. Its great merits were clearly perceived by the members of the two British official expeditions to the Euphrates, which laid down the course of that river on our maps during the first half of the last century. When this line shall have been constructed, Baghdad will become the terminus of two great trunk railways, one following the course of the Tigris, and the other that of the Euphrates.

It is already the emporium of the trade with the Persian Gulf, the bulk of which consists of goods in transit for Persia. The importance of Baghdad as a jumping-off place for the trade of the richest provinces of Persia would seem as yet to have been imperfectly realized. When the stream of traffic with the Persian Gulf has been increased by feeders from the Mediterranean, the need of equality of treatment, and, therefore, of control, on the future railway between Baghdad and Persia will make itself felt among the industrial nations of Europe. That this key of the entire position shall not be placed in the hands of the nationals of any one State, and that the door which it opens into Persia shall not be closed, would seem to be the most pressing objective of the diplomacy of those Powers possessing interests, actual or potential, in these regions. When this has been accomplished, the partition of interests in the railways connecting Baghdad with the maritime highways ought to be a matter of amicable adjustment.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the Association, held on Wednesday, April 24, 1912, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, a paper was read by Sir William Chichele Plowden, K.C.S.I., entitled "Problems of Indian Administration." The Right Hon. the Earl of Minto, K.G., P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Sir Leslie Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., General Sir Alfred Gascolee, G.C.B., G.C.I.E., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Bedford, Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir William Ovens Clerk, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Colonel W. G. King, C.I.E., Mr. G. Huddleston, C.I.E., Mr. B. Lewis Rice, C.I.E., Captain R. B. Hubbard Bey (Imperial Ottoman Navy), Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, the Rev. J. R. Brown, Mr. William Douglas, Dr. Kapadia, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Forrest, Miss Forrest, Mr. M. Rahman, Mr. M. Ahmed, Mr. K. Rustomji, Mr. B. B. Das, Mr. and Mrs. Courroux, Mr. B. M. Sen, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. W. Durran, Mr. B. J. Nanavati, Mr. K. M. Thakore, the Rev. Mr. Drury, Mr. R. G. Watson, C.M.G., Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. B. Dube, Mr. Mausen Karsondas, Mr. L. Singh, Mr. D. Singh, Mr. S. J. Husain, Mr. M. K. Hakkhan, Mr. A. L. Cotton, Mr. A. R. Hutchins, Mr. Magan Lal, Mr. H. A. Talcherkar, Mr. K. S. Desai, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. S. V. Ketkar, Mr. S. A. W. Punch, Mr. C. Rosher, Mr. J. H. Master, Mr. H. Astley, Mr. B. J. Desai, Mr. B. B. Lathia, Mr. M. E. Park, Mrs. Morrison, Mr. G. P. Mathur, Miss Wade, Mr. R. N. Singh, Miss Annie Smith, Mr. W. W. Corfield, Mr. J. Procter Watson, Mrs. Bean, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Mr. W. Mann, Mrs. and Miss Hearn, Mr. F. Rowland Humphreys, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have to introduce to you Sir William Plowden, who, as you know, is a very distinguished Indian officer, and he is about to deliver to us an address which I am sure we shall all listen to with the greatest interest, and I am very glad to have the honour of presiding at his lecture.

Sir William Plowden then delivered his lecture.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we have all listened with the deepest interest to the paper which Sir William Plowden has just read to us. Sir William belongs to a distinguished family whose members have rendered many valuable and brilliant services to our Indian Empire, and we all respectfully recognize the weight of the matured opinions he has placed before us to-day. He has told us that as long ago as 1890 he had recognized that new political possibilities were making themselves felt in India, and that he introduced a Bill into Parliament in which he proposed to enlarge the representation of the then existing councils. I need not say that I thoroughly sympathize with the views which led Sir William to introduce that Bill, and, speaking for myself personally, I am very grateful to him for the appreciation he has expressed to-day of the reforms which were introduced during my administration (Hear, hear), and I welcome, too, the broad views he entertains of what is necessary in order to conduct, on sound lines, the British administration of India. It is very curious to compare the Bill which Sir William introduced with that which came into force in 1909. As regards the number of elected members it is almost identical. I readily admit that the regulations of the new Councils Act are extremely puzzling and often very confusing; some of them I confess that I have found difficult to understand myself, but I may say at the same time that the principles of Sir William Plowden's Bill differed entirely from those of the Act of 1909. His Bill, as I understand it, was based on the old Panchayat system, a system which I have always admired as well adapted for many localities in India, for traditional reasons, and because it is peculiarly suited to the character and manner of life of the people. But though no one recognizes more than I do the immense importance of encouraging a knowledge of local administration among the people themselves, yet when you come to consider the qualifications of individuals for the higher councils, such as the present Provincial Legislative Councils, the qualifications required of candidates appear to me to be different from those required of members who are only expected to deal with local questions.

I am afraid the day is very far distant when the masses of the people of India can expect their interests to be fittingly represented by their own countrymen elected on a purely numerical franchise. I believe at the present moment the best friends of the masses of the people of India are British administrators, and, in addition to their able assistance, the Committee which I appointed aimed at framing a Bill which would provide representation for those great factors in India which have a real stake in the country; we felt that on such lines the representation of the real and general interests of the country would be more soundly assured than by any franchise based on a numerical system alone. In August, 1906, when I was about to appoint the Committee I have referred to, to consider the reforms which we then had under discussion, and of which Sir Arundel Arundel was the chairman—whom I am so glad to see here to-day—the very first instruction I gave to my Council when I was appointing that Committee was that I should, at present, limit myself to only one opinion, namely, that in any proposal for the increase of representation it was

absolutely necessary to guard the important interests existing in the country, as expressed in paragraph 7, page 3, of the Report of Sir C. Aitchison's Committee, namely: (a) The interests of the hereditary nobility and landed classes who have a great permanent stake in the country; (b) the interests of the trading, professional and agricultural classes; (c) The interests of the planting and commercial European community; and (d) the interests of stable and effective administration. Those were the lines upon which the Committee were first requested to act; they always kept those lines in view, and I think we may fairly claim that the result has been a great addition of strength to the Government of India. What we aimed at at the time was an addition to the Legislative Councils, especially to the Viceroy's Legislative Council—an addition of strength in the shape of expert knowledge, and in the shape of opinions emanating from men who were really interested in the everyday life and welfare of the people of India. I always felt that that would be an enormous assistance to us. You must remember that we were in the face of a very serious political agitation; we were very much criticized, and were told over and over again that it was not a time in which any reforms whatever ought to be introduced—that it was absolutely foolhardy to do so. I always refused to admit that. I always said that I believed a great deal of the agitation was justifiable agitation, and that if we were to put that right a great many people would come down on the right side of the fence. Undoubtedly our action gained for us much additional support throughout the country, and I hope that its results will be permanent for the good of India. At the same time, we were very anxious to avoid any appearance of a Parliamentary franchise. I set my face against anything that might appear to resemble it. We did not want a Parliament at all; we wanted councils, and the best possible advice we could get on those councils, but did not want Councils elected on Parliamentary lines. I hope there will be no confusion in anyone's mind about that. But by far the most important reform was that dealing with the appointment of an Indian member to the Viceroy's Council. As you know, appointments to the Viceroy's Council are made by the Secretary of State, and I always strongly advocated the appointment of an Indian member. It was an admission on the part of the Government of India that an Indian possessing the necessary abilities and character could not justly be excluded from the highest executive positions in his own country. I fought against any amount of criticism of that appointment, and I am glad to say that we won the day. There was one point, however, as to which I did not see entirely eye to eye with the Secretary of State. He was extremely anxious to appoint an Indian, and so was I; but I always put the qualification for the appointment on the ground of efficiency. My argument was, that if a post was vacant on the Viceroy's Council, and that if an Indian was by ability and character indisputably the best man for that post, that then he should not be debarred from receiving it—that there should be no racial disqualification. In reply to this it was argued that the appointment should depend not so much on efficiency as on the necessity for recognizing Indian racial claims—that the Indian ought to be appointed *quâ* Indian, without an absolute

insistence on necessary qualifications. I often fought that point, and I always maintained that in the case of very high appointments ability and character ought to be the first consideration, and that the racial question should not enter into it. Indian interests would, as a matter of fact, be perfectly safe under such conditions, as there will always be Indians well qualified to hold these appointments. As you know, the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Council was the Hon. Mr. Sinha. I was constantly warned of the danger of the appointment, and of all the risk that we were about to run. However, he was appointed, and no one could ever have served me more loyally or more ably than he did. I cannot resist telling you a story about him ; it is rather dramatic. I came back one Monday evening from Barrackpore to Calcutta to attend the first meeting of the newly-appointed Council, which was to assemble next day, and almost immediately after I arrived at Government House, my private secretary, looking very serious, came into my office and told me that a Mahomedan police inspector, a most excellent public servant, had just been shot dead outside the Law Courts. It was a horrible assassination, and of dangerous political meaning. And almost at the same moment my anxiety was still further increased by a note from Mr. Sinha reminding me that the new Council was to meet immediately, and that he was sorry to say that he could not support certain clauses in the Press Act, which was a very strong measure we were about to introduce, and that he must therefore tender his resignation. The position was ominous ; one of our best officers had been murdered close to Government House, my Indian member of the Executive Council in whom I had put such trust had submitted his resignation, and the reformed Legislative Council was about to assemble for the first time. There was good cause for apprehension as to the future. However, about two hours later, another note came from Mr. Sinha to say that when he first wrote to me he had not heard of the murder of the police inspector ; that he recognized the serious state of affairs ; and that, whatever happened, I might count upon him to stick to me through thick and thin. (Hear, hear.) He did so, and I dare say many of you will remember the spirited and eloquent speech he made on the introduction of the Press Act. I do not think we need ask for any greater proof of loyalty than was given to me by the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Council. (Hear, hear.)

I should like to allude to one important point, which I have omitted in connection with the regulations for the elections to the enlarged Legislative Councils. We were very anxious to avoid the election of professional politicians ; we aimed at the representation of property and of the real and vested interests of India ; we did not wish to facilitate the election of mere political agitators. At that time, as you know, there was much political unrest, and there were many people only too anxious to take advantage of the opportunity for political mischief which elections based on numerical conditions alone would have offered.

Sir William has mentioned the Decentralization Committee, of which Mr. Hobhouse was the President. Their report was an excellent one, and made many valuable suggestions. I am sure no Viceroy with any ex-

perience of Indian work would ever be opposed to decentralization of a certain sort. There are many matters with which he is called upon to deal which are so trivial that they are really sometimes laughable, and which could well be dealt with departmentally. On the other hand, decentralization can be carried too far. For instance, I am opposed to complete provincial autonomy. I have always been anxious to support local Governments, but it is all important to maintain the power of the supreme Government. When I was in India the times were not normal; they were very anxious times. The state of affairs was peculiarly sensitive. Occurrences which in ordinary times could have been disregarded as devoid of any political meaning suddenly assumed dangerous importance in accordance with the way they were dealt with. One could not foresee what might happen. Some local authorities were unwilling to make use of weapons they had at hand—I refer, of course, to legal weapons. Again, others were only too anxious to take the bull by the horns; but if at any time a mistake was made by a local government, it was the Government of India—or at any rate the Viceroy—who got blamed for it. I think it is perfectly right that it should be so, provided that in any scheme of decentralization the greatest possible care is taken to maintain the supreme power of the Government of India in any anxious predicament that may arise. The lecturer has suggested the possibility of appointing temporarily Indian civilians serving in India to the staff of the India Office. There is much to be said in favour of his proposal. I have the greatest respect for retired Indian civilians, who have rendered invaluable services to their country; but with the change that is now going on in India—and it is a change that is going on from day to day—it is impossible to expect those who left India many years ago to keep in touch with questions that are now hourly arising there. I have no doubt that the temporary appointment to the India Office of selected Indian civilians serving in India would be a help. At the same time, I see the risks of such a system, which, if it is ever adopted, should be carefully recognized. For instance, suppose a distinguished young civilian to be brought home from India and temporarily attached to the India Council of the Secretary of State. His opinion would of course be sought for on Indian questions, and he could give it only as his individual opinion, in all probability having had no opportunity of studying those particular questions in India from an Imperial point of view. He would not be an accredited representative of the Government of India, and his opinion would be that of a “free lance,” and often quite unreliable. I have often found that far too much value is attached to the opinions of officers who happen to be home on leave from India, and whose opinions have been accepted, though they have had no opportunity of forming a sound judgment on questions on which they have been consulted.

I will now turn to some other remarks of Sir William’s which have a peculiar interest for me—the question of commissions in the army for Indian gentlemen. I must take friendly exception to what he has said as to my not having faced the question when I was in India. I can assure you that I not only faced it, but that I fought it every day! It was my

hobby the whole time I was in India to try and obtain such commissions for Indian gentlemen, and I hoped that I had succeeded. It is curious that British opinion of to-day as regards the possibility of granting commissions is less advanced than it was a generation ago. The views of many people to-day are much behind the times in comparison with those of distinguished officers even before the Mutiny. As long ago as 1844 Sir Henry Lawrence dealt with the question. Subsequently, Lord Napier wrote a memorandum in 1885 on the same subject, stating that the Government of India had then the matter under consideration. Sir George Chesney, Sir Donald Stewart, and others, all held the same views. All these distinguished officers admitted that a great injustice was being perpetrated in withholding such commissions; they maintained that young Indian gentlemen should have greater opportunities for military distinction, but at the same time they all laid down that they must not command British troops, and that the solution of the difficulty was the raising of special Indian regiments, in which Indian gentlemen should receive commissions. I am afraid that racial antipathies, however narrow many of us may think them, are much stronger in India than they are at home. I do not know why. But, at any rate, we certainly cannot do away with these racial antipathies by word of command; the only way to lessen them is by example, and by constant sympathy for our Indian fellow-subjects. By force of example and by constant sympathy let us hope that racial prejudices may gradually disappear. Under existing conditions it would in my opinion be a grave mistake to appoint a young Indian of good family to a British regiment or to a regiment of the Indian Army against the wish of its British officers. It would only create friction, and we should be worse off than we were before. I fought this question in India over and over again, and before I came away the Government of India, the Commander-in-Chief, and all my Council were in agreement with me that the commissions should be granted. We therefore framed a scheme for the raising of a regiment to be officered by selected Indian gentlemen who would generally have received a military education at the Cadet Corps. Our proposal was that the regiment should begin with a skeleton of a few British officers to give it a start, and that young Indian officers should be gazetted to it in the ordinary way, with *bonâ fide* commissions, who would rise in due course of promotion; whilst the British skeleton would gradually disappear and an Indian officer would eventually obtain command of the regiment, which would be in the course of twenty years or so. The scheme was sent home, and it was my earnest hope that it would receive official sanction before I left India. I am sorry to say I do not know what has happened to it since then. I feel, however, that it would be unfair to the Government of India not to take this opportunity of saying that, as far as they were concerned, the necessity for the commissions was recognized and the difficulty was dealt with. The opposition to our proposal was at home! The whole question is a very difficult one. In the meantime I have heard that there is an idea in England—certainly not in India—with which I do not at all agree, that the suggested scheme of an Indian regiment does not go far enough, and that it would be better to

bring young Indians here to be educated in this country, to pass through Sandhurst, and then to be appointed to British regiments in the usual way. I may say that I am entirely opposed to such a proposal, not only on military grounds, but on other grounds as well. I am much averse to the system of bringing young Indians to this country and educating them here, young Chiefs in particular. I am convinced that it is much better for them to make their homes in India, to look after the affairs of their estates, and to share in the life of their own people. No doubt an intelligent young Indian gains much useful knowledge in England, though he often takes back to India with him impressions which are far from desirable. My experience is drawn somewhat specially from my intimacy with the cadets of good families. They visit England and form friendships here, and then return home to find themselves out of touch with their own people and their natural surroundings, and in great difficulty as regards their future life. Careers should be open to them in their own country, and as regards the grant of commissions, we should do well to follow the advice of the distinguished soldiers I have referred to, who all fully recognized the injustice of the present position, and with whom my Council entirely agreed in recommending the raising of a special Indian regiment on the lines I have described.

I think, ladies and gentlemen, I have alluded to the chief points in Sir William Flowden's most interesting paper. I only hope that I have not wearied you with the length of my remarks. (Applause.)

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL said they were under a great obligation to their Chairman for presiding on that occasion. He was the statesman to whose initiative were due the great changes in Indian administration, of the admission of natives of India to the Executive Councils, and of the enlargement of the Legislative Councils. As to the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils in India, he said that he agreed with the desirability of the changes introduced, but there must be caution in the direction of important administrative changes. He understood, for instance, that it was not an easy thing to find Indian gentlemen of prolonged administrative experience to fill the position of member on Executive Councils. The Secretary of State had barred selection from the one branch where trained men could ordinarily be found—namely, the High Court. It seemed to him the embargo could not hold water when one considered the condition of things existing in England. Here in England they had sitting in the Executive Cabinet of the Government a gentleman who was the highest Judge in the land, and who was always selected as a member of the Party Government—namely, the Lord Chancellor. He did not think, if they looked at the state of things in England, the argument against the appointment of a High Court Judge could hold water. His next point was as to the non-official majority in the Provincial Legislative Councils which had been referred to. There he was disposed to agree with the dissent expressed by the Lecturer. But *per contra* one good result had ensued—namely, that there could be no more legislation by mandate from the Secretary of State or the Government of India. He gave illustrations in support of this view.

As to the question of police administration, he agreed with Sir William Plowden that the employment of competent natives was desirable. But the work of the police was very difficult and irksome; they needed for police officers not only probity, but also physical courage and strength and good intellectual ability as well for real efficiency.

He demurred to the last suggestion of the Lecturer that civilians of ten or fifteen years' service at home on furlough might be made members of the Secretary of State's Council. He suggested that the only way in which useful change could be made would be for the Secretary of State to summon home selected men from the various provinces who had special information on special subjects. But even then it might be urged that any amount of information could be obtained by getting reports from such men sent home by the Government of India.

DR. ABDUL MAJID said he had listened to the remarks of the Chairman and the Lecturer, and he greatly appreciated the recent reforms introduced into India. The consideration of the interests of the minorities was an act of justice and statesmanship; but the absence of representation of the middle class and the control of legislative measures by the well-to-do were defects which he had already pointed out in a paper read under the auspices of the East India Association, the only body which really tackled the problems of India under the able and sympathetic attitude of the Hon. Secretary. His impression was that the higher one went the more worthless they were, and it was natural that it should be so. The vast amount of wealth possessed by the Maharajas, the Nawabs, etc., kept them from the school of real education, and therefore the reforms which gave them control over the destinies of others they knew so little about were so far defective. There were, no doubt, exceptions, but exceptions proved the rule.

But as far back as 1908 he had pointed out that the problems of India could be effectively solved only by one of three methods: (1) Home Rule; or (2) extending the basis of the Councils in India as well as in England; or (3) representation of the Indians in the Imperial Parliament. As to the Home Rule, it meant government of the majority, and as the majority of the educated Indians were unfortunately selfish, it could not be to the advantage of India—at any rate, at this stage of its psychology.

The best thing both for England and India would be the representation of India in Parliament. The members of Parliament, he knew from experience, were very little aware of the Indian affairs, and therefore the Indian representatives would be of great value. Both would learn from each other—one the affairs of India and the other the Imperial problems. Thus the mutual intercourse would result in the blending of the ideals which appear at variance at the present time.

He entirely associated himself with the Lecturer when he said that Indians should be given a fair chance of promotion in the army. What was really wanted was an efficient army, but if an Indian qualified himself for the higher posts, his nationality ought not to be a bar.

As to the Lecturer's suggestion of assisting the Secretary of State's Council by the addition of younger members of the Indian Civil Service,

he pointed out that it would, after all, represent official experience of India. It would be very advantageous if the Council were supplemented by non-officials, who alone were the index of India's feelings and requirements.

MR. PENNINGTON said : I am not going to make a speech ; I only want to say how thoroughly I agree with the reader of the paper as to the necessity for employing the warlike races amongst our fellow-subjects in the defence of our common country. As Sir Thomas Munro used to point out about a century ago, it is *impossible* to go on governing the country for ever unless we associate ourselves on much more equal terms with the best people in it. Whether Sir William's idea of an all-Indian regiment is feasible, or whether it is the best way of employing the native gentry (whose only profession is that of arms), or not, I don't know ; but we *must* find some way of enlisting their services in the defence of their own country. If we cannot do that we cannot call ourselves an Imperial race, or venture to speak of a "United Empire." A "United Empire" which practically ignores more than three-fourths of the Empire is surely a misnomer, and, in fact, the magazine with that proud title evidently stands for the more rigid exclusion of our Indian fellow-subjects, even where, as in South Africa and West Australia, they are almost indispensable. It even calls this theory of exclusion a gospel ! That is not my idea of a gospel.

THAKUR SHRI JESSRAJSINGHJI SEESODIA, Editor *Rajput Herald*, said that in his opinion the main point in the very interesting lecture of Sir William Chichele Plowden was undoubtedly the question of the higher appointments of Indians in the Indian Army, which was a subject in which he was very deeply interested.

Regarding "administrative problems," the question was whether the people were fit and capable to administer their country at the present moment. But the result had been seen in the development of the administrative qualities in the British people since their advent in India which they never possessed before they went there, which also went to prove that a people coming from a small island like Britain could develop such high qualities of administration.

He failed to understand why the peoples of India, inhabiting a country which is equal to a continent, with past traditions of Empire after Empire, should not possess administrative abilities as well as an Englishman, to whom it was a new and acquired qualification, whereas to an Indian it was an hereditary accomplishment, and he asked why an Indian should not be given the opportunity of developing and expanding that quality which he possessed by birthright.

Englishmen acquired this quality by being brought into close contact with a country like India ; they expanded and developed those great administrative qualifications that are to-day being exhibited to the world's notice. The Government might have modified, improved, remedied, and made suitable according to the time, or rather the process of evolution ; but if equal opportunities were given to the Indians, he thought they could rise to the occasion, and attain the highest

ranks in the administration of their country, eventually becoming members of the council capable to administer the country, as pointed out by the illustrious Chairman. The point which was most interesting to him as a Rajput was the question whether the Indians should hold important positions in the army. He did not believe that the Indians were not capable of holding important positions in the army. Surely, he said, history has proved that Indians have been great warriors in the past, and so they are the same at present. England might well imitate the great Mahommedan (Moghul) ruler, Emperor Akbar, who entrusted high military posts under him to Rajput commanders. Mansingh of Amer held the command of a *Hafta Hazari*, the highest Imperial rank under the Moghuls; he reconquered the most fanatical of Mahommedan countries—Afghanistan—for the Emperor, which is a compliment for the Rajputs. Not only reconquering, but he was also for some time the Viceroy, and looked after the civil and military administration of that province. In the civil administration of the Moghul Empire there is one brilliant Hindu name which illumines the pages of the Moghul administration—Raja Todar Mal, the great financier and Financial Minister of the Empire, who introduced a new system of revenue throughout the Moghul Empire.

So matters went on till the period of the great Aurangzeb, who alienated Hindu feeling by insulting methods, which was the cause of the downfall of the Moghul Empire. Previous to his reign places of trust in the army were held by Rajputs, and the trust was not misplaced. The fidelity which was shown by the Rajputs to the person of the Emperor, from Akbar to Shah Jehan, or in other words to Aurangzeb himself, is a well-known fact in history. Hindus by religion, Rajputs by birth, they stood by the Emperor in the great struggle between the Mahommedans themselves. When Aurangzeb rose against Shah Jehan, it was the Rajputs who rallied round the throne to protect the aged Moghul Emperor against the onslaughts of his undutiful son. When the Mahommedans, who were racially different from the Hindus, and with bitter religious animosities, could trust them with the highest rank in the army, he did not see the reason why the English, who are ethnologically proved to be of the same stock as the Hindus, of the great Aryan race, should mistrust them. Trust creates trust, and at the Battle of Assaye in 1803 under the great Duke of Wellington, his maternal great-grandfather, Bahadur Singh Rathor, took, on his own initiative, the seventy-nine guns from a strategical position of the Mahrattas, contrary to the orders of the great Duke, but benefiting the British in the main, and he mentioned how an Indian, if allowed, could rise to the occasion; that showed how an Indian could display better military skill than the great Duke of Wellington, who was regarded as the greatest military genius of his age. He quoted an instance in the Chinese Expedition, how Subadar-Major Sardar Bahadur Devasikayam, a Christian and of low origin, took command of the right wing of the 2nd Queen's Own Sapper and Miners, to which he belonged, on the fall of the British officer commanding the wing, for which he was decorated with the "Order of Merit." That went to show that Indians, who possessed a real martial spirit, and were warlike, if encouraged, could do better things than what

was shown by him. He differed from the previous speaker, who held that Rajas and Maharajas were useless. Some of the Maharajas, such as H.H. The Maharaja of Bikanir and H.H. the Maharaja of Gwalior; are excellently well equipped to command large armies without any European supervision; and that excellent warrior, our venerable Raj Dhiraj Pratapsingh, of Jodhpur, had proved his warlike qualities and abilities in the Frontier Expedition in 1898. As for Indians commanding Europeans, there was an example in General Afsar-Ud-Dowlah, of H.H. the Nizam's army, who has many Europeans under his command.

The Rajputs have been faithful to their word when once given. The trust would not be misplaced if the British take into consideration the question of giving direct commissions to the Rajputs, who are the strongest warlike element in the Indian Army. Also, there is one great advantage with the Rajputs, as each clan has its own supreme Head which is closely in contact with the Imperial Government and which could very easily influence the clansmen for their loyal behaviour towards the British Raj; and I think that our illustrious Chairman, who is a military man himself, may take interest in this question, for which I as well as my brother Rajputs will be under eternal obligation. As Imperialism is the one word of the moment that is pervading the British Empire, it can be made the keystone to the whole situation by being put into practice right loyally. Why should not we as Britishers, in which *name* we take a great pride, be also equally trusted in matters pertaining to the Empire? Therefore, I say, if the British only extended the hand of sympathy to cement the different parts of the great Empire into one, they would render a great service to it, and make it more united, strong, and consolidated, which solidarity would prove the strongest combination against any power on the face of the earth. Unless an Indian as a Britisher took pride in the doings of Britain, and unless an Englishman as a Britisher took equal pride in India, the thing could never be accomplished.

Mr. B. DUBE said it had now been recognized that the administration of India would be better and more efficiently and more progressively carried on by increasing the number of Indians in the Councils. He was very pleased with the reforms, but he was sorry to sound one jarring note, and that was as to the accentuation of the differences between the Hindoos and the Mahommedans; their relations were not always as cordial as they desired, but to accentuate the differences by legislation was most deplorable. There was an impression that the Mahommedans should have a numerical majority; they wanted it in every direction, and he thought it was a vital defect in the present reforms.

He quite understood they required efficient administrators to represent them, but the real solution lay in educating the people. It was the interests of the masses which the British democracy must first of all safeguard; the interests of the working classes stood above all the others of the non-working classes, and that they could only have as a result of primary education in India. (Hear, hear.) He quoted the case of China as an instance of a great progressive movement of recent times.

His Lordship has said, with all the weight that attached to his expressions,

that he did not like that young Indians, for purposes of a military career, should come to this country. He personally was of opinion that they should not be compelled to come for the study of other professions. He thought a certain number of appointments in the services should be set apart for Indians, as well as Englishmen ; it would be better than Indians coming here and wasting their time, and then finding themselves not taken on in the Civil Service in India.

As to professional and expert agitators, he thought agitation was the greatest safeguard of the British Government everywhere.

In conclusion, he would only say that he hoped in time to come they would have "Home Rule and a better fellow feeling all round."

MR. LESLIE MOORE hoped the last speaker would express the same sentiments in the company of his friends about the interests of the working classes being of more importance than anything else. He entirely agreed with his views in that respect. From his remarks on primary education, apparently Mr. Dube considered that, until the masses were fit to elect representatives for themselves, all reforms were useless. Was he willing to wait for reforms until the masses had shown themselves fit to exercise the franchise? That was very much like saying that a man should not go into the water until he could swim! Unfortunately, although education had made great strides in India, even now only about one in ten males could sign his own name. In view of this fact, Lord Minto's reforms were not, and were rightly not, intended to be democratic.

As regards the police, he suggested that the main reason Indians were not found in the higher ranks of the police was that the department did not offer sufficient inducements to Indian intellectuals. A police officer's life was a hard one, whatever his rank, and the pay and prospects not equal to those offered by law and medicine.

His Majesty the King-Emperor had said the first thing needed was more sympathy, and he thought that sympathy could be shown by less meddling with Indian social life and customs. So-called sanitary reforms in villages should be pressed with discretion. Again, Europeans made a mistake in not showing proper respect to caste. Englishmen had broken down the respect for the Brahmin, and, as a result, the lower castes, after losing respect for the Brahmin, had gone on to lose respect for the Europeans too!

The CHAIRMAN, who was received with applause, in reply said that he was glad to see the meeting had led to a most interesting discussion. He was afraid he did not feel equal to following the speakers through the mazes of primary education, Home Rule, and so on, because they were subjects that were open to so much criticism. There was one thing he would like to say, and that was with reference to the remarks made about the Indian police. He was naturally a good deal amongst the police in India, and he knew the extreme difficulties of the duties they had to do ; they were subject to every sort of unreasonable accusation, and it required for that position men of great strength of character and personal moral courage, in addition to their ordinary qualifications.

The following letter has been received by the Hon. Secretary :

SIR,

The interesting and instructive paper by Sir William C. Plowden, K.C.S.I., led to a very lively discussion, in which time prevented me from taking part, which is my apology in sending these lines.

All those interested in the welfare of India will feel grateful to Sir William Plowden for his excellent paper on the problems of Indian administration. From an Imperial point of view, the sooner certain disabilities are removed from Indians in their attempts to qualify themselves for appointments in the military, police, and other departments, the better for Great Britain. At present, apart from the way military colleges are closed to Indians, the regulations for admission by competitive examination for the Indian police force contains a clause warning parents and guardians of candidates *that European descent will be regarded as essential*. This has prevented a good many Indians from competing for these appointments in the police department. I know personally how the son of a retired Indian military officer could not either join the military or the police, though he has been brought up in England, and has received the best possible education in English schools. It is a perfect paradox to me why, when Indians are permitted to compete for the Indian Civil Service, they should be shut out from the higher police service! Yet it is not infrequent to hear complaints made that the Indian police department does not get educated and properly trained Indians. Retired veteran officials like Sir William Plowden, instead of expressing their surprise at the absence of Indian officers in the higher ranks of the police, will indeed be doing a good service to Indians by creating a public opinion in England against these inequitable regulations which disseminate between the races.

Some of us who belong to soldier races are deplorably losing all military traditions. I myself—the son of a Government pensioner, who has put in forty-three years' active service—because I am a Hindu, cannot be admitted as a volunteer; and yet sons of Goanese butlers, cooks, Eurasians, Jews, and in some few cases even Parsis, are permitted to be volunteers! I cannot for a moment understand the fairness of this kind of treatment to educated Indians. This want of confidence shown by Government is indeed to be regretted.

I quite agree with his Lordship and Mr. Leslie Moore in their estimation of the onerous work done by the police officials. Those in the City of Bombay, where there is a large population of working men, know very well how serious troubles and riots were averted in 1909 by the first civilian Police Commissioner, Mr. S. M. Edwardes and his deputies, at the time of the collapse of certain cotton-mills, due to the bankruptcy and suicide of a mill-owner. The prompt manner in which the Police Commissioner responded to the prayers of the Hindu and Mahomedan mill-operatives in removing their grievances is still gratefully remembered among the mill-hand population of Bombay. I am almost certain, if there had been such sympathetic and able police officers we should never have heard of the terrible mill riots which at one time disgraced the city of

Bombay. There may, no doubt, be stray cases of misbehaviour in the police department, as there are in every police force in the world ; and if the tone of the service is to be improved, we ought to have a good proportion of educated Indians from respectable families, and it is essential that steps should be taken to do away with regulations which prevent Indians from competing.

However watchful the official members in our reformed Council and Government may be about the interests of the masses, according to Lord Minto, who was in the chair, those who read the very eloquent speeches made in the Viceroy's Council in opposition to the recent factory legislation will see how the capitalist class (which includes a large proportion of our Congressmen) fought tooth and nail against it ! What wonder, then, that the pernicious practice in Bombay of holding over six weeks' wages in arrears, which keeps the mill-hands perpetually in the clutches of the money-lenders (*m'arw'adis*), the subsequent lapsing of wages owing to the insolvency of mill-owners, are grievances which, along with others, have totally escaped the attention of those who legislated on behalf of the voiceless masses ! Have the authorities ever taken care to ascertain and inquire of the mill-owners what is the annual amount which would come under the head of lapsed wages, and in what manner these unclaimed wages are disposed of ? I know, as secretary of the Bombay Working Men's Association (*The Kamgeir Hitwardhak Subha*), how hard I had to fight (without success) against the inequitable lapsing of wages of a number of helpless mill-hand women, whose wages were in arrears for more than four weeks. The Court receiver was unable to pay owing to defective legislation, though he fully sympathized with the poor working-women who had come to claim their wages. Under these circumstances, who would say that Sir William Plowden is wrong in his remark when he says that the Council "reforms of 1909 are more or less founded upon the opposite principles of giving representation to selected classes, and do not deal with the great mass of the population" ?

H. A. TALCHERKUR.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS

"INDIA AND COLONIAL PREFERENCE."

DEAR SIR,

Referring to Sir Roper Lethbridge's article in the January number, I should like to ask him if he thinks that the proposal contained in the Tariff Reform League's "Speaker's Handbook," on "India and Imperial Preference," is reasonably well calculated to satisfy the aspirations of the people of India who, as he knows, demand "Protection" for Indian industries. There is no wish to "reform" the Tariff except in that direction. The gist of the note is contained in the following paragraph: "Preference would mean to India that the United Kingdom and the Colonies would give *freer* entry to Indian tea, coffee, sugar, wheat, and all Indian staple products; and it would mean to us that the Indian import duty on a *large number* of British manufactures would be either abolished or reduced"—rather a one-sided bargain, because tea and coffee are almost entirely British industries; and sugar, far from being exported from India, is being more and more largely imported, whilst "wheat and all Indian staple products" are absolutely free already, and could not well be made "freer."

I do not, of course, mean that this argument affects Sir Roper's proposal to put an export duty on, say, raw jute, which seems reasonable enough so long as it is in force for revenue purposes only, like the well-established export duty on rice.

Yours truly,

J. B. PENNINGTON.

June 12, 1912.

* The italics are mine.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

BUREAU OF ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS.

1. *Government of Formosa: Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa.* Taihoku, Formosa, 1911. The acquisition of territory that had fallen to the share of the Japanese since the Restoration has been a subject of interest to the political world as well as to Japan. The active steps that are being undertaken in order to convert into useful land vast areas, that have for centuries been left to the mercy of indolent savages, will, sooner or later, prove an immense gain to the Mother Country. The need is being felt considerably for colonies to provide labour for her growing population.

Very stringent laws are in force for the control of the Aborigines of Formosa. These natives are fierce and desperate. They have the greatest contempt for life, in order to carry out certain traditional barbaric customs that have for centuries existed among themselves.

In this official report compiled by Mr. Shinji Ishü, we find that the determination on the part of the Japanese government, either to subdue or drive into the forest within limited areas, these merciless head hunters will be carried out with stern measures. Only those savages who will faithfully abandon their cruelties, and become by fealty useful members of this somewhat large and recent possession may hope to take part in the future expansion of Formosa.

In some instances there has been voluntary surrender, those who have vowed allegiance and have been permitted to step over the guard-line, are now engaged in agricultural labour. Monkeys are to be sacrificed instead of human beings, where the barbarous custom of head-hunting was found impossible of extinction.

For the guard line, which is watched by armed Japanese, many have offered their services or risked their lives ; but skirmishes still frequently occur, and good men are sacrificed. The Report is full of vivid descriptions of the progress of the work and the many difficulties that have to be overcome before Formosa will be safe to sojourn within. The inhabitants of this somewhat picturesque and beautiful island have been sadly neglected by the past possessors, the Chinese, from whose rule it was handed over to Japan after the war. The book is enhanced with pictures, many of which are extremely interesting, giving a very good insight into the country, and the aspect of various tribes that inhabit it. The maps are prepared with much care. That this report is produced and printed in Taihoku speaks well for the spirit of enterprise already existing. Many natives at work, as well as play, form some of the subjects of the pictures, and as schools for the instruction of savage children have already been organized, we have great reason to hope that under the able administration of justice tempered with mercy, and a true concern for the welfare of all lives under her control, Japan may soon reap the reward of her labours. The best incentive to guide her actions will be the remembrance that her new acquisitions have been purchased with the blood of some of her bravest sons and heroes.—S.

J. M. DENT AND SONS : LONDON.

2. *Palestine Depicted and Described*, by G. E. FRANKLIN. The author in his introduction to a very readable study of modern Palestine does not over-state the case when he observes that no country in the world has produced so

much descriptive literature as Palestine. Nor is this surprising, for the interest felt in this unique country is world-wide, and Jerusalem, if merely regarded as a shrine of tourist culture, has greater claims on the traveller than even Rome. In short, Jerusalem is one of the most venerated cities of the world, not only by Christians and Jews, but also by Moslems. Indeed, the "City of Cities" is, in a sense, the most cosmopolitan city in the world.

But though, in many respects, the Holy Land may still be regarded as the "Unchanging East," yet, as regards locomotion, the changes in the past few years show that the modernization of this country has made rapid strides.

Though Mr. Franklin keeps strictly to the well-worn track of the tourist, yet his enthusiasm, his trained powers of observation and his sincerity redeem his narrative from the commonplace. While avoiding lengthy discussions of controversial topics, the author takes a lively interest in recent archæological discoveries and their bearing on the scripture narrative. The most interesting chapters are those dealing with Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee and here he shows that he has made intelligent use of such useful books of reference as Professor Adam Smith's "Historical Geography of the Holy Land," a book which no intelligent traveller in Palestine can afford to ignore.

The author was fortunate in getting the services of a really competent and tactful dragoman, a certain Shukrey Hishmeh, who was also thoroughly well informed, and did not indulge in the stock "patter" learnt by rote which the ordinary tourist has to put up with from his dragoman. This Hishmeh was, it appears, a nephew of Sir H. M. Stanley's favourite interpreter, Selim, whose portrait frequently appears in Stanley's book, "How I found Livingstone." The nephew was able to tell Mr. Franklin of the interesting career of Stanley's protégé. After the explorer returned to England, Miss Agnes Livingstone paid for the hospital training of young Selim and he is at the present time practising as a doctor in Scotland.

The author devotes a chapter to a very full and interesting description of the Samaritan community in Nablous, where for some 3,000 years "that proud but dwindling Samaritan community, who had separated from the Jews in the time of Ezra, and built a rival sanctuary on Mount Gerizim," still observed the sacrifices of the Mosaic law, which even the strictest Jews have discontinued.

The Samaritans are a dwindling race, and unless they agree to modify their strict rule of only marrying in their own sect, this decline in birth-rate is not likely to be arrested. It seems that there is a very large preponderance of males over females, so that there is a great dearth of wives among them. The author tells the curious story of their attempt to remedy this parlous state of things by importing wives from Africa. It was rumoured that there were a certain colony of Samaritans living in Africa where the women outnumbered the men, so a number of these were invited to Nablous. Unfortunately, the Samaritan eligibles were disappointed in these potential brides, as they were darker in the skin than their own women, so they were returned with regrets to their own country as unsuitable! Yet, as the author cogently observes, though they are so inordinately proud of their pure descent, they are, of course, originally of very mixed parentage; for it is clearly proved, from the Old Testament, that their ancestors during the Captivity intermarried with Semitic settlers sent by the Assyrian King, and, indeed, it was because of their tainted blood that they were disowned by the Jews.

In the synagogue of Mount Gerizim is kept one of the most ancient manuscripts in existence, the old Pentateuch Roll; and though the High Priest claims that it was written by the grandson of Aaron some 3,500 years ago—a fable which would hardly deceive the most credulous—it is in all probability at least as old as the first century. The original is very rarely shown to visitors; in fact, even the Samaritans themselves are only allowed to see it once a year.

Formerly the original document was allowed to be inspected by travellers, and it is said that one reason why this priceless possession is now so jealously safeguarded is that when it was shown to a party of Americans some years ago, one of the tourists, when the priest turned his head for a moment, actually tore off a small piece as a souvenir!

In the preface to this book the author states that he has "tried to secure some photographs of the life of the people and customs of the land." In this modest way he alludes to the illustrations of the book, and we can heartily congratulate him on his results. The photographs show in almost all cases excellent technical ability, and occasionally real artistic feeling. This is all the more noticeable, as the object of the illustrations is purely topographical. There are very few examples of under-exposure, which so often proves a snare to the ordinary snapshotter.

To mention just a few of the best. "Old Street in Jerusalem" (facing p. 82). This is an excellent piece of work; the gradations are good, and the general result has a softness which is frequently absent where stone-work is prominent. "The Swelling of the Jordan" and "River Jordan" are also very good landscapes, with a nice feeling for values. One of the best pictures from an artistic point of view is "The Brook Cherith." Here we not only have excellent tone value, and a picture full of soft detail without spottiness, but the composition is excellent, which is rather a weak point in some of the photographs. Another beautiful picture is "Bethany from the Jericho Road," where the trees in the foreground help to throw back the village into its rightful position.

We must congratulate the author on his picture of "The Dead Sea." Here he has truthfully expressed the desolateness of the scene, and has skilfully accentuated this by the solitary figure of the man standing like a monument on its banks.—E. A. R.-B.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO. : LONDON, BOMBAY, AND
CALCUTTA.

3. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.* By WILFRED H. SCHOFF, A.M. The editor calls the account of the voyage to India which he translates and edits a "plain and painstaking log of a Greek in Egypt, a Roman subject, who steered his vessel into the waters of the great ocean and brought back the first detailed record of the imports and exports of its markets, and of the conditions and alliances of its peoples." He gives the date of the *Periplus* from internal evidence at about A.D. 60. The names of the countries and places, bewildering though they are, are elaborately identified where possible in the excellent notes which he gives, and which comprise also glosses upon almost every one of the many products of the distant lands mentioned in the log. He illustrates the book also with discretion and judgment, so that one can know the kind of ship the original traveller sailed in, and some of the curious craft which he hailed during the adventurous voyage in which he observed so much of interest.—A. F. S.

4. *A History of Indian Shipping.* By RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A. This work, to which Dr. Brajendranath Seal gives an introduction, is of considerable interest. In the first place by its illustrations it rescues from oblivion the early Hindu boats, and shows their shapes, from the *stupas* of Sanchi the boats used during the conquest of Ceylon from Ajantā, and those that carried the Hindu conquerors to Java from the sculptures at Borobodor. An account of the time when India was a boat-building country—in the remote past—is added, filled with quotations about Indian boats from ancient religious texts. The sea-commerce was increased a great deal during the Andhra-Kushan period on account of the intercourse with Rome. The Tamil States were sea-going, and the early trade with Farther India was very considerable. Bengal, too, possessing a coast-line, traded with the South and East, and had

some intercourse with China. The period of the Mahomedans is also dealt with. Both Bengal and Sindh were celebrated for shipping before the Mogul period, and after the advent of the Moguls shipping was on a large scale, at least till the death of Akbar. Shipbuilding revived under the Mahratta Sivaji, and the Angria naval power was a serious rival to the English. The Indian Marine is afterwards considered, and we are given many interesting pictures of "grabs," "donys," and other esoteric ships. The book concludes with a hope that there will be a revival of Indian shipping, and that the "lost industry that rendered such a brilliant service in the past, and with which are so vitally bound up the prospects of Indian economic advancement," may be restored.—A. F. S.

5. *A Peasant Sage of Japan.* The Life and Work of Sontoku Ninomiya. Translated from the *Hôto kuki* by TADASU YOSHIMOTO. Considering that this book is a translation from the Japanese by a Japanese, we are not wholly surprised to read what we find within its covers. It is purely Oriental in style and construction, careful to emphasize every detail, and painstaking to impress upon the reader the virtues of the beloved Sontoku Ninomiya. Nevertheless, we have continually to keep in mind as we pursue the narrative, that it is truth and not fiction that we have to digest. The influence, exercised alike over peasant, priest, and prince, over the idle as well as the nimble, by this poor, but self-sacrificing, sage, reads more like a fable or romance than the biography of a man who lived and moved within a wide radius, condemning, aiding, advising, supporting his fellow-men. We are further more assured that this work is read by thousands who are stirred by its influence to mighty deeds of activity and self-surrender, and all the cardinal virtues that saint and sage aspire towards. Having accepted all that this translation from the *Hôto kuki* has afforded, we feel it is much to be deplored that Sontoku Ninomiya is not among us in this present crises of the world's history. It is to be hoped

that one of his disciples will arise, and by the example of so great a master, still the restlessness of the present age, and steady the vacillations of mighty empires, particularly his own, whose greatest boast is in a dynasty of Divine unbroken descent.—S.

6. *The Position of Women in Indian Life*. By HER HIGHNESS THE MAHARANI OF BARODA and S. M. MITRA. It is inevitable that a book dealing with so vast a subject (in 350 pages of large print) should be somewhat "sketchy" in the treatment of the views and impressions brought forward; yet the reader will find a great deal to interest in it, even though he may disagree with many of the theories and deductions.

Part of the interest arises from the point of view of the "woman-question" in the West, seen through Eastern eyes; but apart from that, there is a wonderfully exhaustive note of the various movements for the benefit of women, which are, in many instances, new to dwellers in the West themselves, except to those who have been earnestly following, in recent years, the development of the position of women in public life, and the opening of their new professions and careers.

Then there comes the question (treated rather optimistically one feels) of which careers are suitable for transportation to India, and here there is much matter for reflection. Naturally, what suits the West is not always possible in the East, the difficulties over *purda*, caste, etc., all having to be thought of. For example, the necessity of women lecturers and teachers to instruct *purda* ladies is insisted on, if any progress is to be made in developing new ideas. If one glances through the headings of the various chapters, one gets a good idea of the vast range of subjects (all with innumerable subdivisions) dealt with. Taking some at random, we find "The Woman Movement," "Professions," "Agriculture," "Home Professions," "Arts and Crafts," "Philanthropic Work," "Hotels," "Tea-shops," "Domestic Science," etc.

Among the "Home Professions" there is one which one

judges will never be brought to the West—that is, the negotiator of marriages! It is said that the “*gahtaki* has fairly ousted her male rival (*ghatak*) by taking advantage of the *purda* system at Calcutta. The *gahtaki* now brings about more Hindu matrimonial alliances at the Indian capital than the *ghatak*, who, until twenty years ago, had held for centuries the monopoly as agent of Cupid. If this proves anything, it shows there is ample room for all sorts of women-workers behind the *purda*.” — MARIA STEUART.

LUZAC AND CO. : LONDON.

7. *The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence, according to the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafai, and Hambali Schools*, by ABDUR RAHIM, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, a Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Madras. This work will be welcomed by all those who are interested in the scientific study of the various legal systems, especially by the students of the Moslem system. It deals with the principles as distinguished from the substantive law. It is the first work of its kind written by a Moslem in the English language, and places very clearly before the reader that the Moslem legal system is far in advance of any legal system known to jurists. Of the two complete bodies of law known to Europe—the English and the Roman—the latter owes its popularity to political reasons, and to the simplicity of the Code of Justinian. Beyond this admirable code—only surpassed by the Code of Napoleon, the Indian Penal and the new German Codes—the Roman law appears to be wanting in clearness and classification. For instance, the chapter in the Digest on Theft (*de furtum*) draws no distinction between theft and obtaining goods by false pretences, nor are the opinions of the jurists properly recorded. As a system it lacks in not possessing the institution of trust, nor does it possess a complete classification of crimes. Its notions of equity and of ownership seem very defective. The homage paid at

the shrine of the Roman law by the great jurists of Europe like Ihering and others—is due to the fact that they did not study the Moslem system. Attempts have been made to compare the Roman and the Moslem systems, but, in spite of the endeavours to trace various institutions back to the former, there is very little real similarity.

In the English system, laws to protect the property of married women were only introduced towards the end of the nineteenth century, while the recommendations of the Divorce Commission have still to become law. In the Moslem system laws were laid down protecting the rights of women in these respects, as in the law of inheritance, which is partial to the fair sex, some 1,300 years ago.

But in the notions of equity (*Istehsân*) and of ownership which is the basis of the law of property, a complete coincidence exists between the English and the Moslem systems. The institution of trusts (*Wakf* or *Habs*) is known only to these two, while the principles underlying the constitutional law are the same.

In order to appreciate the greatness and the completeness of the Moslem system of law, one must study books like this of Mr. Abdur Rahim. The subject of the principles (*osool*) is very wide, but this book will serve as a very useful guide to students of the Moslem law. It will prove that this system is not unprogressive, as is often supposed, inasmuch as it possesses doctrines to modify the law to suit the requirements of a progressive society. Although primarily intended for the Tagore law students, who are for the most part beginners in the study of law, this work is of much higher standard than the majority of volumes contributed as the Tagore Law Lectures.—H. R. ABDUL MAJID (LL.D., Barrister-at-Law).

JOHN MURRAY: ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.

8. *Gun-Running on the North-West Frontier*, by the Hon. Arnold Keppel. This well-illustrated book aims at

telling the recent history of our difficult policy on the frontier, and to show that if the arming of the Pathans is continued, a serious rising may be anticipated. In the preface the author says: "The operations of the blockading squadron in the Persian Gulf are not sufficiently recognized as an integral part of frontier policy," and he has written his book with the intention of emphasizing "the connection between the operations of the blockading squadron and the preservation of peace on the Pathan border." With this object the first part of his book is thus occupied by a description of the North-West Frontier Province formed by Lord Curzon in 1901, and of its warlike Pathan inhabitants, and he gives a description of the Zakka Khel and Mohmand Expeditions, and the autumn crisis of 1910, itself the result of the blockade in the Persian Gulf, which prevented arms coming to the Afridis. He says later: "As in 1897, so to-day the revolt of Tirah would be the signal for a general rising of all the Pathan tribes," and while it is quiet we may defy the jihads preached by the mullas. He also deals with the policy of non-intervention, the decline of the Russian peril, and the doubtful future attitude of the Amir (all in a somewhat confusing manner), and describes his cruise in the Persian Gulf, during which he saw something of the arms dealers. To us the most interesting part of the book is, perhaps, the account of the operations of the Mekran Field Force in 1811, and some observations on the future of Mekran.—A. F. S.

9. *Tangier, 1661-1684*, by E. M. G. ROUTH. The subtitle of this instructive and desirable book—"England's lost Atlantic Outpost"—shows (as does its period) that it is the history of the British occupation of the promontory of Morocco which came to England as part of the dowry of Charles II.'s Queen, the Infanta Catherine of Portugal, "as sweete a disposition princes(s) as ever was born, and a lady of excellent partes and bred hugely retired." The acquisition was popular in England, where it was hoped

that the new colony would be a check upon the depredations of the "Sallee rovers," who, with the Barbary corsairs, were a real scourge upon the foreign shipping, and Henry Mordaunt, Earl of Peterburgh, was made first Governor in 1662. It was not an easy task to be a Governor of Tangier; they were faced from first to last by hostile Moors all round (one of whom, in early times, they happily called "Caramel Hodge," *i.e.*, Haji), who blew hot or cold as they thought England waxed or waned; irregular supplies from home, and jealousies within, and these grievances lasted the whole time of the British occupation. The second Governor, the Earl of Teviot, had dreams of an English dominion in Morocco, but, though he was partly successful, this gallant officer fell in a battle with the Moors in 1664. The power of the hostile Moors became for a time much less owing to rival factions, and in 1668 one of their chiefs, the great Ghailán, actually took refuge in Tangier with his sister, "very fayre and lovely." The restoration of a Portuguese lady, captured by the Moors, to her religion and country led to renewed hostilities, however, and abortive embassies of lesser envoys, "My Lord Ambassador" not liking himself "to goe among these Barbarous people." In 1675-1679 constant fighting took place against the now better disciplined Moors, and in 1680 the garrison (which included four companies of Lord Dumbarton's Scotch regiment) had to endure the Siege of Tangier, "noe one thing being in a condicion fitt for defence," and the enemy being assisted by one Hamet, a Moorish slave of Lord Belasaye and the Duke of York, who had gone over to the enemy. After a humiliating truce the colony was reinforced with more of the "Scotch Regiment," who, with the other gallant troops, eventually charged "like fire and lightning," and drove the Moors back, and forced them to sue for peace. Intercourse and embassies now took place, and in 1682 the "Morocco Ambassador" was one of the sights of London. Tangier, however, was a heavy drain on England, and Parliament was certain that it was a nursery of Popery,

and that its garrison were to be used in forcing regal absolutism on the people. It was decided, unfortunately, to evacuate it at last, and this was carried out in 1684, "the Mole," a triumph of English engineering, which greatly improved the harbour, being destroyed. To the indefatigable hand of Pepys, who was commanded to join the expedition, we owe a description of the town as it stood under English rule. Two things in his description were typical of the Diarist's point of view :

"This morning in my Chamber was the most extraordinary spider I ever saw. . . . With such sort of things this country mightily abounds. But, above all that was most remarkable here, I met the Governor's lady (Lady Mary Kirke) in the pew, a lady I have long remarked for her beauty, but she is mightily altered."

Anyone desirous of reading an historical account of the lost outpost cannot do better than study this excellently constructed and well-illustrated book. The author has given to us everything necessary ; the internal difficulties, the outside hostility, and the life in the city itself are narrated. There is recounted also the Court favour, and then the Court neglect with which Tangier was treated, although at its acquisition it was thought much more valuable than the other portion of the Infanta's dowry, the island of Bombay, acquired "in free and common socage" at an annual rent of £10.—A. F. S.

10. *Taoist Teachings from the Book of Lieh Tsz*. By LIONEL GILES, M.A.—Mr. Giles is showing commendable industry in ferreting out for us the least indigestible plums of ancient Chinese philosophy. Whether Lieh-tsz was a man, a collection of philosophers, or what not is a question that has been discussed frequently before ; suffice it to say that 800 years after the book called *Lieh-tsz* appeared an official named Chang Chan published an excellent commented edition of it, and I have this edition before me now. It is divided into eight chapters, of which Mr. Giles (possibly using some other edition) seems only to accept

seven, although my edition of Chang Chan distinctly includes the eighth. Mr. Giles' third chapter, styled by him "Dreams," is "King Muh of the Chou [Dynasty]" in the original, and Mr. Giles' seventh chapter, styled by him "Causality," is "[The Philosopher] Yang Chu" in the original. The omitted eighth chapter is "On *fu*" [a word signifying "tallies," "amulets," "evidentiary tokens," etc.]. As my copy has after Chang Chan's preface an earlier preface dated B.C. 14, written by the well-known imperial virtuoso Liu Hiang, who gives his full reasons for including the full eight chapters, it is evident that I am committing no very rash act in calling Mr. Giles' attention to the fact of this strange discrepancy. Mr. Giles does not tell us precisely how he has manipulated or on what principle he has made selections from the seven chapters selected, which, translated in full, would require at least a dozen volumes of the size he now gives us; and he omits many matters of superlative interest; for instance, the second original chapter gives us a sketch of what Lao-tsz did on his visit to the extreme western Chinese state of Ts'in; and the third has some interesting historical remarks, about *Kumiss*, the Black Water, the Red Water, and other geographical experiences of King Muh among the Tartars, which are infinitely more important to the world than the airy speculations of the said king about "Dreams." Alluding to Confucius' remarks in the fourth chapter about the Sage in the West, in connection with which Mr. Giles tells us "the early Jesuit missionaries saw in the above an allusion to Jesus Christ, but it is *almost* certain that the present work had taken definite shape before the Christian era," I may add that twenty-four years ago I pointed out that the *Missions Etrangères* had suggested something of the sort in their "History of the Churches"; but what they said was that Jews had settled in China and had preached of a Redeemer long before Christ's time; hence Confucius might well have alluded to a Holy Man *whom all expected to be born in the West*. The Jesuits, early or late, have

always been wary about committing themselves; in any case the word "almost" may now safely be omitted, as Liu Hiang's preface of B.C. 14 makes the point of date quite clear. It is to be noted that the last and entirely omitted chapter speaks of an interview between Lieh-tsz and Kwan-yin-tsz, who was a personal friend of Lao-tsz: as the philosopher Chwang-tsz makes a similar remark, we are entitled to place Lieh-tsz in advance of Chwang-tsz, and not among the imitators of Chwang-tsz; in other words he was (if he ever existed at all) a junior contemporary of Lao-tsz, and likewise a contemporary of Confucius: Mr. Giles assigns Lao-tsz' birth to 604 B.C., which is too early; at the same time it must be admitted that we have no certain information about either Lao-tsz or Lieh-tsz.

In these restless and changeable times, when the Japanese have done away with much of their Chinese culture and invented a new political religion based upon fictitious history, a specially modified *shintō*, and a mysterious *bushidō* (of which no one ever heard until twenty years ago); when the Chinese are abolishing their ancient religious monarchy and their old Confucian system of education, rushing blindly into a morass of military indiscipline and financial despair; it is too much to expect that many minds, either here or in the East, will be in a fit condition to do full justice to, or adequately moralize over, the vague verbiages of 2,500 years ago. If such persons are still to be found, then Mr. Lionel Giles has catered very creditably for their special taste: he has our warm approval; he tells us that the editors of "The Wisdom of the East Series" desire to be "Ambassadors of goodwill and understanding between East and West—the old world of Thought and the new of Action." We extend to them the same impartial welcome that we extend, say to the distinguished diplomatists, who, the papers tell us, are going to promote, with the assistance of a special press, good will and understanding between England and other Powers, but for all that we maintain decent reserves of judgment in each case: we must "wait and see" how things work in the sequel.—E. H. PARKER.

11. *The Fall of the Mogul Empire*, by SIDNEY J. OWEN, M.A. The author has, it seems, held various educational appointments both in India and at Oxford in connection with Indian history, and he now gives us the "substance of a course of lectures" covering the century between the accession of Aurungzib, the great battle of Paniput, and the first conquests of the British (1657-1761); in other words, of the period during which the unwise anti-Hindoo policy of the later Mogul monarchs gradually brought about the collapse of the great empire founded, and on the whole wisely maintained, by Baber and Akbar. The subject and the period are very interesting, even to those—the huge majority—who are both ignorant of and (perhaps criminally) indifferent to the struggles of such vague and loosely defined races as the Mahrattas, Jats, etc.; but it cannot be said that the author has done either himself or his subject full justice: no very definite impressions of practical human life in India are left on the mind; it is simply a procession of self-seeking, intriguing Kings and princes aiming at nothing in particular, moving bodies of expressionless automats over unfamiliar areas, and achieving no intelligible economic, political, or religious results. A very fair map of all India is given at the end, but, as is usual with maps of India, it is a raging sea and a hopeless maze combined, a wilderness of barren names and inexplicable boundaries; what is here really wanted is a series of small sketch maps to accompany each chapter, or at all events each reign, shewing where the real pivot of Jat or Mahratta activity was for the time being; how much territory was gained or lost; by whom; what the natural boundaries were; and so on. The author apologizes in his preface for the occasional irregularity of his spelling, but that scarcely excuses "Said" and "Saiyid"; "Seiads" and "Saiyids"; "Soonee" and "*sunni*"; "thirty cos," "fifty coss," and "a coss"; "Tara Bhye" and "Tara Bai"; and others in similar case. Acknowledgment is also made in the preface to the author's daughter for compiling the Index, which we are

ungallant enough to characterize as a miserably poor one ; the words "Peishwa," "Seiad," "Abdali," and many others of equal weight have great importance in the text, but they do not appear in the Index at all, and it is often only by painful cross references that a reader unfamiliar with Indian history can in the first instance seize, and in the second instance hold on, to the thread of the narrative. What is the use of telling the general reader that "this was, of course Nehushtan to Aurungzib"? Who or what is Nehushtan? Apparently it means "anathema" or "Satan"; but how is a non-Indian to know? By the way, the mention of Ahmed the Abdali after Nadirshah suggests a connection with the old Ephthalite Turks of Afghanistan whom the Chinese called "Eptal" in the fifth century. It is unfortunate that the Manchus remained in blank ignorance of what was going on in India during Akbar's, Jehangir's, Shah Jehan's, and Aurungzib's reigns: in fact, the very name of India was quite unknown to them until they suddenly hit up against the British "Feringhi" as successors to the "Delhi pashas" during their Nepaul campaign of 150 years ago. Even the Ming dynasty before them, though well acquainted with Tamerlane in Samarcand, had no knowledge of his temporary conquest of Delhi: still less of his descendant Baber's doings. All they knew of India was gained by the sea route: it was part of the south coast and (this last only for thirty years at the beginning of the fifteenth century) a very little about Bengal: the King then was a Mussulman named Ayas-ud-Din, whose heir was Said-ud-Din, evidently one of the Pathan dynasty of Delhi, or possibly a revolted independent prince, general, or pretender of that dynasty. Had Chinese history anything to say of North India during the Pathan and Mogul dynasties of Delhi, we might have been able now to throw some corroborative light upon Professor Owen's account of the Mogul collapse; but unfortunately between 1440 and 1740, the Chinese knew no more of India than they knew of the Sahara desert—*i.e.*, they knew absolutely nothing.—E. H. PARKER.

12. *Campaigns on the North-West Frontier.* By CAPTAIN H. L. NEVILL, D.S.O., R.F.A. With maps.—When Earl Roberts, with his long and varied experience of Indian and of Frontier and Trans-Frontier warfare, gives his imprimatur to a book, it would seem almost superfluous that other officers should be invited to undertake to pass that book in review. Still, not even the fiat of the greatest soldier of the Empire is an absolute guarantee that a book is not capable of improvement.

The introductory chapter of this work is devoted to the topography and ethnology of the frontier, terminating with a very brief reference to the Baluchis and Baluchistan. I propose to show later on that this latter part of the North-West Frontier and the tribes which inhabit it have played a much more prominent part in frontier warfare than can possibly be gathered from Captain Nevill's pages.

As an epitome of frontier fighting from the Baizai Expedition of 1849 to the Mohmand Expedition under Sir James Willcocks in 1908 this compilation is one of very great utility. It is perfectly impossible for the average British officer in India to collect a library such as would enable him to study at first hand the details of the incessant expeditions against frontier tribes which have taken place from 1849 to the present day. We have in this book by Captain Nevill a summary—and, moreover, a carefully compiled summary—of the standard accounts of those expeditions. It is something, in these days, if young officers can be induced to acquire some knowledge of the past history of the frontier, the defence of which is one of their most important duties. I may mention that this work contains no reference either to the First or to the Second Afghan Wars, and thus many a lesson learnt in the seven years covered by those two wars is lost. There is one remark made by Gleig (erst Chaplain-General of the Army) which has always remained in my memory. Speaking of the 13th (Somerset) Light Infantry in the last year of the

First War, he remarks that the men of that regiment, after three years of mountain warfare, were fully equal to any Afghan on a hillside. In this remark anyone with sufficient knowledge may read the story of the occasional failure of our British regiments to hold their own against the Afghans in the intricate and fatiguing country in which the tribesmen of that race elect to fight.

I feel that it is outside the scope of this review, and, indeed, impracticable to follow Captain Nevill through the long series of expeditions and little campaigns of which his book is composed. On pp. 304-305 I find a tribute paid to the gallantry of Lieutenant-Colonel John Haughton, of the 36th Sikhs. Too high a tribute could hardly be paid. Having never before seen active service, he made no mistake when he found himself face to face with the stiffest fighting that our Indian army has to meet. It is hard to say that a man made a mistake in finally sacrificing himself, but, despite the nobility of his death, some such feeling runs in my mind. The Indian army could ill spare him, as the Tirah Expedition showed.

Where Captain Nevill's knowledge apparently runs dry is in treating of the fighting on the Sind-Baluch border. We have scarce a word about the three Baluch battalions, the three Sind horse regiments, and the three Baluchistan regiments. The names of Jacob, Merewether, Clarke, and Green seem scarcely known to Captain Nevill. Yet it is to Clarke that Sir Francis Doyle devotes his "Red Thread of Honour," and for the three other names the frontier historian who does not know them does not know his subject. The stubborn fight on the Nafsook Pass and Captain Lewis Brown's defence of Kahun finds no mention in this work; yet when that grand old man, Osbaldeston-Mitford, who died a short time ago, reached the Sind frontier in or about 1841, via Herat and Kandahar, he found Clibborn's repulse and Brown's defence on every tongue. Nor do I find the smallest allusion to Colonel Mayne's successful little expedition in or about 1898 against

Baluch rebels, or of Colonel Tighe's gallant storming of the Fort of Nodiz a few years later; and yet, I find the only frontier fighting with which the Baluch battalions are credited is the Zhob Expedition of 1890! Captain Nevill has still a good deal to learn. As far as the Punjab border is concerned, Captain Nevill's book is very thorough. He will find a more careful study of the Sind-Baluch border will furnish him with material for another volume. If he will refer to *Vanity Fair* of February 21, 1885, he will learn "Who hanged the Barber of Jacobabad?" Military treatises seldom evince any touch of humour, and yet frontier life does not lack that "saving sense."—A. C. YATE.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.: LONDON.

13. *The Statesman's Year-Book*, 1912. Edited by J. SCOTT KELTIE, LL.D.—Indispensable is an epithet which is apt to be rather loosely applied to works of reference, but it is most emphatically applicable to this admirable Year-Book. Indeed, the politician, historical student, and geographer can no more do without this annual than the ordinary reader, who wishes to be well informed, can dispense with Whitaker or Hazell. Indeed, a publication which for nearly half a century has maintained a reputation as the one English statistical and historical annual of the world of to-day is almost independent of criticism. The additions for the present year are selected with sound judgment, and enhance the value of the book as an up-to-date book of reference. Among the new features are articles dealing with the Imperial Conference, the Franco-German Convention respecting Morocco, and the payment of members of foreign parliaments. New maps of India (showing the re-arrangement of the Provinces), the Congo-Uganda Boundary, and one showing the recent expansion of Manitoba, are other noteworthy features.—E. A. R.-B.

14. *The Making of Northern Nigeria*. By CAPTAIN C. W. J. ORR, R.A.—Nigeria is not an old British

possession, dating only from January 1, 1900. Mungo Park discovered the River Niger in 1797, and McGregor Laird began to trade on the waters of the Lower Niger in 1854, and a consular agent (Dr. Baikie) was established in 1857. In 1879 Mr. Goldie Taubman (afterwards Sir George Taubman Goldie) formed the United Africa Company. This in 1882 became the National African Company with great success. French rivalry was bought out and German rivalry circumvented, and in 1885 the Company carried out a treaty with the Sultan of Sokoto. In 1886 a charter was bestowed on the Company, with the name of the Royal Niger Company, by which it took on administrative offices while remaining a trading concern. In 1897 the Fulani Emir of Nupe was deposed and Bida captured, and in 1901 the British Government assumed the direct administration of the country, the Royal Niger Company reverting to its original *rôle* as a trading concern.

The writer recounts the changes and advances in the administration year by year excellently, but in a style of severe gravity, unrelieved by any light touch. The territory was ruled through the Fulani chiefs, Residents were set up, and when the ruler of Boma was killed by the French, Boma was occupied by British troops to save it from anarchy. At this time there was some friction between France, Britain, and Germany, but territory was gradually acquired, and boundaries fixed; slave-raiding caused trouble, and the murder of a missionary called for reprisals. By 1902 Boma, Bauchi, Zaria, Kontogora, and Borgu enjoyed a settled civil administration, and in that year Kano and Sokoto were occupied (the writer narrates even the progress of skirmishes in the calmest manner, and we learn only by a footnote that in a fight with the Emir of Kano one unnamed officer "commanding the patrol which was attacked was awarded the Victoria Cross"), and order of a Western kind established in these Mohammedan provinces of the Hausa States. Civil officials were then placed in political control, assisted by twelve (not more!)

native police, the military being commanded by their own officers, and we are told of the progress of this organization and the caravan tolls and the taxation difficulties. In 1906 there was a serious rising in Sokoto, owing to the preaching of a marabout; but that and some that followed it were suppressed before the resignation of Sir Frederick Lugard, the High Commissioner. The consideration of commerce and trade, construction of railways, the slave question (still a problem), courts of justice, etc., necessary to make a complete book, are all here. We must not forget a valuable chapter on the short history of the Fula and Hausa Emirates, and an excellent chapter looking forward. We wish the writer had been a little less restrained, however, and had enlivened his work with more of the stories like the anecdote given in a footnote, that at a prison in the Protectorate "a deputation, headed by the prisoner with the longest sentence, called on the Resident one evening to report that a storm had carried off the roof of the gaol, and that they would not consent to remain unless better quarters were provided"!—A. F. S.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO.: LONDON.

15. *The Gambia*. By HENRY FENWICK REEVE, C.M.G.—The author points out that England has owned the colony of the Gambia for more than three centuries. He narrates its history, how the British ran neck and neck with the French from the middle of the seventeenth century in pursuit of territory and slave-hunting. In 1830 its first Lieutenant-Governor was appointed, and it became a refuge for runaway slaves. He recounts the many "deals" with the French and German rivals and "cessions of territory," which he, for the welfare of the natives, deprecates. He gives an interesting description of the appearance of the country and its geology, while Dr. Hopkinson and Captain W. B. Stanley have added valuable chapters on

the birds and the wild animals and sport. The native races are also considered, and the writer says that it has always been a mystery to him how the *savants* interested in the ethnography of Senegambia have not been struck with the remarkable likeness of the Jollefs to the eastern races of the Nile Valley. Though not free from certain faults of construction, the book is both good and instructive. — A. F. S.

WITHERBY AND CO.: LONDON.

16. *A Naturalist on Derelict Islands*. By PERCY R. LOWE, M.B.O.U.—This is an age of specialized travel, and Mr. Percy R. Lowe seems to have specialized in the Desert Islands of the Caribbean. In the course of six yachting cruises he seems to have visited every island and every islet in the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, and as most are quite off the beaten track and absolutely ignored by the patrons of “co-operative cruising,” it can easily be understood that these derelict islands are a veritable El Dorado to the naturalist.

The author is able to suggest to the reader in his vivid narrative the peculiar charm of these little isles “set in the silver sea.” But quite apart from their sentimental attractions, these islands deserve to be taken seriously by the naturalist, as they constitute a happy hunting ground for innumerable rare species of bird and fish-life.

The greater part of the book is devoted to a description of a coral island, known as Swan Island, which, it seems, was only once before visited by a naturalist—Mr. Charles Townsend, an American ornithologist.

It appears that the history of Swan Island only goes back to the early forties of the last century, when two adventurers called Allen and Page took possession of the island. For some reason they retired from their property and some sixty years ago another “squatter” tried his hand at annexation, but confined his efforts in colonization to introducing

a herd of goats and left them in possession. The goats do not appear to have acted as adequate guardians of the island, for, to continue the history of this opera-comique island, the present "Lord Proprietor" had no compunction, not only in ousting the goats, but killed and ate them, and then settled down in this new possession with his family! The author, who had landed in Sir Frederick Johnstone's yacht *Zenaien* made a lengthy stay on this island and was hospitably received by its "Lord."

Though his explorations were obviously restricted in area they were varied and yielded important results, and the innumerable amusing episodes of the life in this remote island lose little in the telling.—E. A. R. B.

LUZAC AND CO. : LONDON.

17. *An Essay on Hinduism: Its Formation and Future.* By SHRIDHAR V. KETKAR, M.A., PH.D., Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology, Politics and Political Economy, Ex-President of the Society of Comparative Theology and Philosophy, Cornell University, U.S.A.—This volume, the second of the "History of Caste in India," improves on acquaintance. At first one is repelled by the author's dogmatic tone and by his contemptuous attitude towards those who do not think with him, and one is constantly irritated by the defects in his grammar, including his wrong use of indicative and subjunctive, of the article, etc. But by and bye one gets interested in his presentment of the European, who is accustomed to see himself in a different light, and in the picture of the Indian standpoint given by the book. "If there be any moral ideas in Christianity," says Mr. Ketkar, "they [the Hindus] class them with the moral ideas that are common in all creeds and people, and thus recognize that even the tribe of Christians have some ideas of Mānavadharma, that is, [the] duties of man as a member of humanity. The ideas and customs which they find peculiar to Christianity are the customs of eating beef

and drinking liquor and worshipping the tribal gods, the Father, the Son, The propaganda of Christianity to them means propaganda of these customs and not the propaganda of the duties of man as a member of humanity, for the latter to them cannot be anything else than their own *Mānavadharmā*" (p. 13). As regards the superimposed "ideas and customs," the belief held by anyone "is not a matter of serious importance to a Hindu." Thus the Jains "deny the authority of the *Brāhmaṇas*, still even the orthodox *Brāhmaṇas* . . . do not seem to have any objection to drink water from their hands." Religious opinion is not in itself the cause of the divisions between the different groups of which the world, held by Hindus to be "a single community," is composed. The groups are "separated from each other only in degree, not in kind," the cause of their separation being "the amount of purity or pollution" attached to each; and among these "the tribes like Christians and Mohammedans, who are characterized by cruelty and by the use of impure food, are [the] most impure" (pp. 20-21). Religious opinion, however, may indirectly become a source of division when "a sect with a separate social existence" incorporates an individual socially, making him go out of the caste to which he previously belonged and giving him membership in a new one. "Thus, when a man becomes a Christian, according to the Hindu standpoint, he leaves his own caste and joins that of the Christians" (pp. 21-22); who "merely add to the already existing castes, and by their missionary zeal try to foster one caste at the expense of the rest" (p. 19).

The spread of Hinduism takes place after another fashion. "When a number of tribes meet on the same spot, there is naturally a tendency towards uniformity. . . . The tribe that is dominant is imitated by the rest. . . . Thus, by mere contact, by living together for a considerable period, are acquired a common stock of ideas, a common system of manners, a common tradition, a common theology, and a priestly caste." The Hindu community

and its traditions have grown thus, the chief factors being "the migration of the Brāhmaṇas and Brāhmanized people," and the conquests of "recognized Brāhmanist princes" (pp. 25-26); and the process "is capable of being carried to its logical extent. All civilizations are capable of being united into one civilization. There would be a stock of moral ideas common to all the world, which people would follow, whether embodied in any scriptures or not. They would have common ideas of God. . . Religions would become tribal traditions, and Bible, Vedas, and Koran would be looked upon as tribal documents, of merely historical interest. The respect for the great teachers of mankind would not remain tribal, but would become universal" (p. 28).

In this "process of universal cosmopolitanism a great disturbing element has been the rise of some sampradāyas, or religions," but "the evils they used to cause are tending to disappear. The future native sampradāyas are not likely to cause much social disturbance . . . foreign sampradāyas, like Christianity and Mohammedanism, will give a great deal of trouble for years to come; but they also will yield" (p. 60), and Hinduism may, in future, include Christians, Mohammedans, and Buddhists. The sampradāyas "will not remain the determinant of social groups"; they "will simply become bodies of worshippers coming and meeting on the prayer days," and their scriptures will not be final authorities even upon questions of morals. "In the meantime, Hinduism will develop into a better cosmopolitanism than it is now. . . . That is, the world will have a common civilization, a more common idea of morals, and everyone will be expected to fulfil his duties as a member of humanity" (p. 155).

The author, who holds that "the process of the creation of a common tradition for India and for the Western world has already begun," gives many interesting particulars, in the body of the volume, concerning the results in India, which he summarizes as follows:

“(a) There has been a general tendency towards the decrease of the strength of ideas regarding ceremonial purity and pollution.

“(b) The truth of the old beliefs and ideas has been suspected, and an attempt is made to discover the truth with the help of modern sciences, or by appeal to the authority of modern scientists.

“(c) On account of the new ideas and pressure of the new economic conditions, the family life of the Hindus is changing. Polygamy is becoming extinct.

“(d) A change is taking place in the dress, manners, and diet of the Hindus.

“(e) Atheism, agnosticism, and materialism are increasing in strength.

“(f) The racial pride which induced the Hindus to look upon the rest of the world as savage and impure has considerably decreased, or at least been wounded. A large multitude of people have learned to fear and to hate the Europeans. Respect for the knowledge and the science of Europeans has increased. On account of the efforts of Christian missionaries, hatred for Christianity has also increased.

“(g) A large number of stories from history . . . and antiquity . . . are now regarded as myths.

“(h) The ancient Hindu sciences and philosophies are now studied in a different light”—viz., in that of modern scientific conclusions (pp. 157-158).

These changes in India have been accompanied, says Mr. Ketkar, by the development of European thought along ancient Indian lines. “To a Hindu, looking carefully at European theology and philosophy, the Occidental world seems just emerging out of theological barbarism,” and beginning to appreciate “the noble ideas on theological matters which Hindus have once thought out” (p. 158). Europeans are realizing that “the practices which they censure as idolatry do not differ in nature from their own practices. . . . The theology of the Bible, and specially

diabolism, has fallen into disrepute . . . the personal idea of God is being gradually abandoned, the conception of soul, as something peculiar to man . . . is regarded as an antiquated idea. . . . Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy are making headway in Europe and America," where the Vedanta philosophy, the Hindu sacred books, and the great religious teachers of India have also a higher place than of yore, while "Occidental peoples realize that the Hindus are of the same branch of the Caucasian race as they are" (pp. 158-159).

The unified civilization towards which all these things tend will probably begin, in Mr. Ketkar's opinion, with science. Here, the East already accepts freely much that is held in the West, since chemistry and physics, say, must be the same for both (p. 160). The conflict between them exists chiefly where the truth is not known, as in theological matters; and in these the attitude of the educated Hindu should be adopted.

For him God, as an infinite conception, is not entirely knowable; man can only form fractional ideas on the subject from particular manifestations, which should not exclude the rest from cognizance. All worship, therefore, should be tolerated, provided the worshipper's conception becomes widened; for it is foolish to disturb the faith of a man in a finite god so long as his mind is "not fit to accept the higher" (p. 160).

Such is the main thread running through Mr. Ketkar's book, and developed by him in detail in the course of it. It has seemed fairest to him to give it, as far as possible, in his own words.—R. G. C.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Windmills and Wooden Shoes, by BLAIR JAEKEL, F.R.G.S. (McBride Nast and Co., New York).—Under this suggestive title the author conducts us on a tour to many points of interest in Holland, that unique land saved by its heroic stolid people from conquest by the Spaniards and destruction by the sea. In order to impress this latter fact on his readers Mr. Jaekel has introduced a map showing by means of shading how large a proportion of the country would be literally under water should the dykes by any chance break down. Not content with past achievements, engineers are now devising a scheme whereby they hope to convert fully two-thirds of the Zuyder Zee into a polder. Such land for various reasons is extremely useful to an agricultural people as the Dutch essentially are.

The variety of places touched on will be realized by the mention of Veere where yet may be seen those old-world costumes so alluring to the artist, and where the old Church (large out of all proportion to the present town and population) reminds one of unresisted inroads of the sea and suggests what might have been the fate of so many other sites; of Amsterdam, that city built like Venice, on piles; of The Hague and Scheveningen, Haarlem, Utrecht—these all the writer refers to in terms which cannot fail to rouse the interest of those who have not yet visited them, while those who have will appreciate the sympathetic touch which conjures up such vivid memories by word pictures, and by the splendid illustrations so freely introduced.

Notes on Pushtu Grammar, by Major A. D. Cox, together with an Appendix containing all the recent "Sentences" and "Passages for Translation" set by the Peshawar Board of Examiners (London: Crosby Lockwood and Son).—This is a treatise on Pushtu Grammar and is the result of a collection of notes made while reading. It explains many difficulties which present themselves to beginners. The chief object of the work is to simplify the declension of nouns; to give a list of adjectives which form their feminine singular and masculine plural in ways which would involve complicated rules being invented to account for them only to lead to lists of exceptions; and to show diagrammatically how the conjugation of Pushtu verbs can be reduced to a system. The work contains upwards of seventy pages and is well printed on good paper.

Great Saviours of the World. Vol. i., by SWĀMI ABHEDĀNANDA (The Vedānta Society, New York. London: Luzac and Co.).—This small volume contains four series of lectures delivered before the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, and the Vedānta Society of New York. The principal aim of the lectures has been to show that the fundamental teachings of the founders of the great religions of the world have had the same spiritual keynote and that the stories connected with their lives and miraculous deeds are similar to those of Jesus the Christ.

The Charm of India: An Anthology, edited by CLAUD FIELD. (London: Herbert and Daniel, 21 Maddox Street, W.)—This handsome little volume is a collation compiled from the writings of those who have known India well, and exhibits some of the different facets of Indian life. It is interesting to those who know India personally, and to the uninitiated.

Jerusalem, by EUSTACE REYNOLDS-BALL, B.A., F.R.G.S. (London: Adam and Charles Black.)—This is a practical guide to Jerusalem and its environs, with excursions to Bethlehem, Hebron, Jericho, the Dead Sea and the Jordan,

Nablous, Nazareth, Beirût, Baalbek, Damascus, etc. In this, the second edition, the practical information has been carefully corrected to date and the rest of the letterpress revised and in part re-written, while the bibliographical section has been considerably enlarged. An important new feature is the summary of archaeological explorations in Jerusalem from 1900 to 1912.

The Riks or Primeval Gleams of Light and Life, by T. PARAMASIVA IYER (Bangalore : Mysore Government Press).—In this volume the author exposes the main lodes and reefs of Vēdic technology.

Who's Who in Japan, 1912, by SHUNJIRO KURITA. (The *Who's Who in Japan* Office, Tokyo, Japan : Sole English Agents, Frame and Co., 21 Mincing Lane, and Luzac and Co. 46 Great Russell Street, London.)—The first annual edition of a very useful book of reference giving biographies of some 5,000 prominent men in Japan. The work is the first of its kind to deal with the subject in a pretentious manner and should prove indispensable to all those having business dealings or other relations with Japan. It is printed in English and very well executed.

Royal Colonial Institute Year Book, 1912 (Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.).—This is a very handy volume containing useful information regarding the work of the Institute for the past year.

Bulletin of the Imperial Institute (London : John Murray, Albemarle Street, W.).—The publication of this "Bulletin" has been undertaken by Mr. John Murray. The quarterly "Bulletin" is now enlarged and will be the means of publishing the results of the chief investigations of new raw materials from the Colonies and India carried out at the Institute, and recent information regarding developments in tropical agriculture and planting industries, and in the commercial utilization of natural resources, especially those of the Tropics. The first number (April 1912), issued under the new arrangement contains the following articles

among others: Rubber Resources of Uganda; Cotton Soils of Uganda and Nyasaland; Diatomite in East Africa. Other articles deal with coco-nut planting and the cultivation of hemp for the production of fibre and seed.

The India Office List for 1912 (London: Harrison and Sons, 45, Pall Mall). This admirably compiled list for this year again embodies all its previous features, giving lists of officers serving in India, and names of the members of the enlarged Legislative Councils, as well as much useful information, which will be found valuable to all who are in any way associated with India.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), February, March, and April, 1912 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, March, April and May, 1912 (published by the Society at Hastings Street, Calcutta);—*The Wealth of India*, a monthly magazine of information and instruction on agriculture, trade, industry, economics, etc., edited by G. A. Vaidyaraman, B.A. (Madras: G. A. Vaidyaraman and Co.);—*Human Affection and Divine Love*, by Swami Abhedananda (the Vedanta Society, New York; London: Luzac and Co.);—*Report on the Progress and Condition of the United States National Museum for the Year ending June 30, 1911* (Washington: Government

Printing Office);—*Annual Report of the Reformatory School at Yeravda for the Year 1911* (Bombay: Government Central Press);—*Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology for the Year 1910-1911*, Part I., Administrative (Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing);—*Horæ Semitice*, No. IX., *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert*, and *The Story of Eulogios*, transcribed by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S. (Cambridge, at the University Press).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following books: *Plato and the True Enlightener of Soul*, by Dharm Anant (London: Luzac and Co.);—*A Manual of Buddhism*, by Dudley Wright, with introduction by Professor Edmund Mills (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Triibner, and Co., Ltd.);—*Big Game Hunting in Central Africa*, by James Dunbar-Brunton, M.D. (London: Andrew Melrose);—*An Account of My Life* (Gohur-i-Ikbal), by Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Ruler of Bhopal. Translated by C. H. Payne, M.A. (London: John Murray);—*An Outline of the Russo-Japanese War*, 1904, 1905, by Colonel Charles Ross, D.S.O., Vol. I., up to and including the Battle of Liao-Yang (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The inauguration of the new Provinces was announced from April 1. The following is the text of the Proclamation :

Governorship of Bengal. — The following is the declaration, made by the Secretary of State for India in Council :

DECLARATION.

The Secretary of State in Council of India, under the powers reserved to him by the East India Company Act, 1853 (16 and 17 Vict., c. 95), and the Government of India Act, 1858 (21 and 22 Vict., c. 106), is pleased to declare that the Governor-General of India shall no longer be Governor of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and that a separate Governor shall be appointed for such Presidency.

The New Province.—The following is the Proclamation, to which the sanction of His Majesty the King, Emperor of India, has been signified by the Secretary of State for India in Council :

PROCLAMATION.

The Governor-General is pleased to constitute the following territories, which are now subject to and included

within the limits of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, namely :

The districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Purnea, and the Sonthal Parganas, in the Bhagalpur Division.

The Patna Division, comprising the districts of Gaya, Patna, and Shahabad.

The Tirhut Division, comprising the districts of Champaran, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, and Saran.

The Chota Nagpur Division, comprising the districts of Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Palamau, Ranchi, and Singhbhum, and

The Orissa Division, comprising the districts of Angul, Balasore Cuttack, Puri, and Sambalpur.

to be, for the purposes of the Indian Councils Act, 1861 (24 and 25 Vict., c. 67), a Province to which the provisions of that Act touching the making of Laws and Regulations for the peace and good government of the Presidencies of Fort Saint George and Bombay shall be applicable.

2. The Governor-General is further pleased to direct that the said Province shall be called the Province of Bihar and Orissa, and to appoint the Hon. Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, K.C.S.I., to be the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, with all powers and authority incident to that office.

3. The Governor-General in Council is also pleased to specify the first day of April, 1912, as the time at which the application of the said provisions of the said Act to the Province of Bihar and Orissa shall take effect.

The Re-constituted Bengal. — The following is the Proclamation, to which the sanction of His Majesty the King, Emperor of India, has been signified by the Secretary of State for India in Council :

PROCLAMATION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 47 of the Indian Councils Act, 1861 (24 and 25 Vict., c. 67), and

Section 4 of the Government of India Act, 1865 (28 and 29 Vict., c. 17), and of all other powers enabling him in this behalf, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to declare and appoint that, on and from the first day of April, 1912, the territories specified in the Schedule hereto annexed shall be and continue subject to the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.

SCHEDULE.

Part I.—Territories which are now administered by the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

1. The Chittagong Division, comprising the districts of Chittagong, the Chittagong Hill-tracts, Noakhali, and Tippera.
2. The Dacca Division, comprising the districts of Bakarganj, Dacca, Faridpur, and Mymensingh.
3. The Rajshahi Division, comprising the districts of Bogra, Dinajpur, Jalparguri, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi, and Rangpur.

Part II.—Territories which are now administered by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in Council.

4. The Burdwan Division, comprising the districts of Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan, Hooghly, Howrah, and Midnapur.
5. The Presidency Division, comprising the town of Calcutta and the districts of Jessore, Khulna, Murshidabad, Nadia, and the twenty-four Parganas.
6. The District of Darjeeling.

Commissionership of Assam.—In exercise of the power conferred by Section of the Government of India Act, 1854 (17 and 18 Vict., c. 77), and with the sanction and approbation of the Secretary of State for India, the Governor-General in Council issued the following Proclamation :

PROCLAMATION.

The following territories, which are now included within the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam—namely ;

The Assam Valley Districts Division, comprising the districts of Darrang, Garo Hills, Goalpara, Kamrup, Lakhimpur, Nowgong, and Sibsagar, and

The Surma Valley and Hill Districts Division, comprising the districts of Cachar, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Lushai Hills, Naga Hills, and Sylhet,

shall, on and from the first day of April, 1912, be taken under the immediate authority and management of the Governor-General of India in Council and formed into a Chief Commissionership, to be called the Chief Commissionership of Assam ; and Sir Archdale Earle, K.C.I.E., is hereby appointed to be the Chief Commissioner of Assam, with effect from that date.

On April 12 the Viceroy opened the Upper Chenab Section of the great Punjab triple canal scheme. This is one of the largest irrigation canals in the world, being ninety-one miles long, and irrigates 605,000 acres in the Rechna Doab. The whole system, when completed, will irrigate 2,000,000 acres.

The Secretary of State has sanctioned the provision of permanent headworks for the Upper Ganges Canal at Hardwar, United Provinces, at an estimated cost of £170,233.

The Imperial Copyright Act, which applies to India, as well as the United Kingdom, the Crown Colonies, etc., will come into force on July 1.

The gross earnings of the Indian railways for the financial year ending March 31 last were 50 crores and 58 lacs of rupees—an increase of $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores over that of 1910-11, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores better than the Budget estimate.

The sanction of the Secretary of State has been given to two important canal projects, one in the United Provinces, the Ghagar Canal at a cost of 35 lacs, which is estimated to yield a net revenue of 1,38,000 rupees a year—and one in Burma—the Twante Canal, which will cost 72 lacs, and will yield a yearly revenue of 542,500 rupees.

The final abolition of the Board of Revenue, Bengal, will take place on July 31.

On the occasion of His Majesty's birthday the following honours, among others, were conferred :

ORDER OF THE BATH.

K.C.B.

Major-General Robert Bellew Adams, v.c., c.b., Indian Army, retired.

C.B.

Brigadier-General Lionel Herbert, c.v.o., commanding the Rangoon Brigade.

Colonel C. G. R. Thackwell, d.s.o., Indian Army.

Colonel F. P. Hutchinson, Indian Army.

Brigadier-General W. H. Dobbie, commanding the Mandalay Brigade.

Brigadier-General R. G. Egerton, commanding the Ferozepore Brigade.

Brigadier-General H. V. Cox, c.s.i., commanding the Rawul Pindi Infantry Brigade.

Colonel A. H. G. Kemball, Indian Army.

Colonel R. M. Rainey-Robinson, Indian Army.

Colonel R. M. Campbell, c.i.e., Indian Medical Service.

ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

K.C.S.I.

John Nathaniel Atkinson, Esq., c.s.i., Indian Civil Service, an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George.

William Thomson Morison, Esq., C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, retired, late an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay.

C.S.I.

Abbas Ali Baig, Esq., Member of the Council of India.

Oswald Campbell Lees, Esq., M.I.C.E., late Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of Burma, Public Works Department.

Paul Gregory Melitus, Esq., C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, lately Member of the Board of Revenue, Eastern Bengal and Assam.

Lieutenant-Colonel Albert Edward Woods, Indian Army, Deputy-Commissioner, Naga Hills.

William Exall Tempest Bennett, Esq., M.I.C.E., Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch.

Honorary Major Sahibzada Obaidullah Khan, commandant, Bhopal Imperial Service Troops.

William Ogilvie Horne, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Acting Third Member of the Board of Revenue and Commissioner of Land Revenue and Forests, and a Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George for making Laws and Regulations.

Pazhamarneri Sundaran Aiyar Sivaswami Aiyar, Esq., C.I.E., an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George.

William Harrison Moreland, Esq., C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, lately Director of Land Records and Agriculture, United Provinces of Agra and Oude, on special duty.

Edward Albert Gait, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Census Commissioner for India.

Dewan Bahadur Chaube Raghunath Das, Dewan of the Kotah State, Rajpootana.

Colonel Lestock Hamilton Reid, Judge Advocate-General in India.

Surgeon - General Henry Wickham Stevenson, Indian Medical Service, Surgeon-General to the Government of Bombay, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for making Laws and Regulations.

ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

K.C.I.E.

John Twigg, Esq., Indian Civil Service, retired, late Acting First Member of the Board of Revenue, and Commissioner of Salt, Abkari, and Separate Revenue.

George Abraham Grierson, Esq., C.I.E., LL.D., Indian Civil Service, retired.

Marc Aurel Stein, Esq., C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., D.SC., Archaeological Department, Superintendent, North - West Frontier Circle.

Major-General Francis Henry Rutherford Drummond, C.B., C.I.E., Indian Army (retired), lately Inspector-General of Imperial Service Troops.

His Highness Rai-i-Rayan Maharawal Sri Bijaya Singh Bahadur, of Dungarpore, Rajpootana.

Nawab Bahram Khan, C.I.E., Head of the Mazari Tribe in Dera Ghazi Khan, and a Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab for making Laws and Regulations.

Henry Alexander Kirk, Esq., C.I.E., India Office, Director-in-Chief, Indo-European Telegraph Department.

Lord Carmichael, G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of Bengal, and Sir F. W. Duke, K.C.S.I., C.S.I., Mr. P. C. Lyon, C.S.I., and Mr. Shamsue Huda to be members of the Governor's Executive Council.

Sir Reginald Craddock is confirmed as Ordinary Member of the Viceroy's Council.

Frederick Hugh Mackenzie Corbett, barrister-at-law, has been appointed Advocate-General for the Presidency of Madras.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, in addition to his donation of 5,00,000 Rs., has made an annual grant of 12,000 Rs. to the Moslem University Fund. The Nawab of Tanjira has made an annual grant of 1,200 Rs.

From the Budget for the State of Hyderabad for the year ending October 5, 1912, drawn up by Mr. R. I. R. Glancy, I.C.S., the Financial Minister, we gather that the policy of the State has been to maintain a large reserve to meet the heavy drain on the Treasury on account of the recurring famines and scarcity; but the present prospects are causing no anxiety, as the drought which has been largely felt in other parts of Southern India has barely affected Hyderabad, and no famine is anticipated. The principal points to which the attention of the State is to be directed for the next few years are the extension of railway communications, largely increasing and adequately protecting the area under irrigation, clearly defining the educational policy of the State, and improving the personnel of the revenue and other departments, consideration for the raiyat being the first care of the Government. The revenue from all sources in 1910-11 was 4,85,98,856 Rs., which was $12\frac{3}{4}$ lacs in excess of the estimate; while the total expenditure was 3,77,15,435 Rs., or over 71 lacs less than the estimate.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—The troops engaged in the Abor Expedition have all been withdrawn, and the field force disbanded. Certain advanced posts are being held by the military police. There are no signs of hostility among the Abor tribes as a whole. The Indian General Service Medal with clasp has been granted to the troops employed in the expedition.

BURMA.—The total revenue for Burma for 1910-11 was 878·93 lacs, and the expenditure 526·71 lacs of rupees. The revised estimates for 1911-12 show 915·71 lacs, and expenditure 569·44 lacs of rupees.

PERSIA.—The situation in Teheran is slowly improving,

but internal wars still continue in parts between different tribes. Yeprem Khan, one of Persia's best hopes in the present crises, after a victory over Mullal-es-Sultan, was killed. The situation at Bundar Abbas became so serious that the cruiser *Fox* was ordered there at a moment's notice, where the cruiser *Perseus* had already landed 150 bluejackets, who, together with the Government troops, dispersed the rebels.

The roads to Koum and Shiraz are now policed, and the extension of the scheme to Ispahan and Sultanabad is under development. The deposition of Solat Dowlah, the chief of the Kasgais, and the appointment of his brother Sardar Etesham, may solve the trouble in Southern Persia. The situation at Kerman is still unsettled, but no danger is apprehended to British subjects. From the frontier news has reached Teheran that the Afghans are advancing into Persian territory, the frontier marks having been carried away. The matter is receiving the attention of the Indian Government.

With a view to solving the Turco-Persian frontier question, a mixed commission has been appointed in order to ensure reciprocal rights in demarcating the respective spheres. If the commission fails to complete an agreement, and certain points remain doubtful, they will be referred to the Arbitration Tribunal at the Hague, whose verdict will be respected.

PERSIAN GULF.—The continuance of the naval patrolling of the Mekran coast-line during the whole of the cold weather has been the means of preventing the illicit traffic in rifles and ammunition.

Rear-Admiral the Hon. Sir Alexander Bethel has now taken up the work of suppressing the gun-running traffic in the gulf, and Rear-Admiral Sir Edmund Slade is taking a well-earned rest after several strenuous years, during which time he has checked much of the traffic in arms.

JAPAN.—The state of parties as the result of the General Election is as follows: Sei Yukai (Unionist party), 27;

Nationalists, 89; Central Club, 27; Independents, 44. The Sei Yukai and Independents have both won more seats than they had in the last House of Representatives.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The Budget estimate for 1911-12 shows an expenditure over revenue amounting to £670,000, which will be met by appropriating the 1910-11 balance of £855,000.

The Defence Bill passed its third reading on May 6. Payment of members of the active Citizen Force, together with an aviation school, involves a considerable increase in the cost. The original estimate calculated a net additional expenditure of £320,000 a year, which is now increased to £500,000.

AFRICA: RHODESIA.—Sir W. H. Milton, the Administrator, opening the Legislative Council on May 6, laid emphasis on the uninterrupted growth of business during 1911. The imports and mineral output, he said, had been the highest hitherto recorded, and the influx of population had been continuous.

QUEENSLAND.—The result of the recent elections gave the Government a majority of eighteen against eight in the late Parliament.

CANADA.—At a meeting in Winnipeg an agreement was entered into between the Government of Saskatchewan and the Canadian Pacific, Canadian Northern, and Grand Pacific Railways to divert the South Saskatchewan River to supply drinking-water to Regina, Moose Jaw, Weyburn, and other towns and cities in Saskatchewan, at a cost of £4,000,000.

Mr. C. Hamilton Wickes, at present His Majesty's Trade Commissioner for Australia, has been appointed Trade Commissioner for Canada.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter:

Colonel Richard Duffin Buckley Rutherford (Afghan war and Egyptian expedition of 1884, Bunner Field Forces 1898);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. W. Sherlock, M.A. (for sixteen years in the Indian Army);—Alexander

Muirhead Aitken (some time Barrister at Singapore, and Member of the Legislative Council);—Colonel W. Knox Downes, D.S.O. (Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expedition 1885-87, Waziristan campaign 1901-1902);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. Harvey (served through Crimea, Indian Mutiny, and the Ashantee war);—William Henry Barnett (went out as Medical Missionary to the Punjab 1908);—Rev. Alexander Lee Onslow, late Chaplain Bombay Presidency;—Colonel R. E. Cox, late of the Madras Army;—Lieutenant-Colonel Clement George Parsons, Commissioner of Lahore;—Lieutenant-General Baron Ishimoto, the Japanese Minister of War;—Khan Bahadur Moulvie Syed Nasir-ud-din, C.I.E., Revenue Minister of Bhopal;—Robinson Souttar, D.C.L.;—Dr. Edward Divers, M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.;—Major L. E. L. Parker, R.A.M.C.;—Captain C. S. D'Aguilar, 84th Punjabis;—Arthur L. Danson, Registrar of the Chief Court at Lahore;—Charles Boulnois, formerly Judge of the Punjab Chief Court;—Khan Saheb Syedji Meah Sahib Bahadur;—Lieutenant-Colonel C. A. M. Warde;—Captain Anthony Gwyn, Royal Navy and Royal Indian Marine (retired) (Egyptian war 1882);—Arthur Charles Hammersley;—Colonel Gordon Price (retired), Indian Medical Service;—Reginald Montague Auber Branson, Barrister of Bombay;—General Charles Rennie Blair, formerly of the Bombay Infantry (Rajpootana 1857-58);—General L. W. Buck, late Madras Staff Corps (China war 1857-58, Burmese expedition 1885-86);—Major-General Richard Blundell-Hollingshead-Blundell (in command at Poona 1891-96);—Captain Lionel James Trotter (Indian Mutiny);—Surgeon-General M. W. Kerin, R.A.M.C. (Burmese expedition 1885-86, South Africa, North-West Frontier of India 1908);—Commander George Truman Morrell, R.N. (West Coast of Africa 1849-50, Lagos 1851-52, Niger expedition 1865);—Colonel Alexander Fairlie Dobbs, Madras Staff Corps;—Sir John Joseph Grinlinton, C.E. (Crimea 1855-56);—Edward Ledwich Osbaldeston-Mitford;—Lieutenant-General John Wimburn Laurie, C.B. (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Major-General E. R. Festing, C.B., F.R.S. (Central Indian campaigns 1857-59);—Colonel Frederick George Steuart (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel John Anderson, M.R.C.V.S., late Indian Army;—Lieutenant-Colonel C. H. Atchison (Afghan War 1878-80, Operations in Zululand 1888);—Major-General T. P. Berthon (Persian campaign 1856-57, Indian Mutiny);—Captain Percy Russell, Army Remount Department, Saharanpore.

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OCTOBER, 1912.

THE REFORM OF PERSIA.*

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

It is, and for months has been, impossible for any Englishman to watch the trend of events in Persia with any other feeling than that of the gravest misgiving. The publication of Mr. Morgan Shuster's "The Strangling of Persia" confirms and strengthens that misgiving, the basis of it being the extremely unsatisfactory conduct of Russia. It has fallen to my lot, ever since I took part in the Second Afghan War in 1879-81, to find an absorbing interest in the problem known thirty years ago as the "Central Asian," and more recently as the "Middle Eastern," Question. This "Question" involves the political status of the countries which lie between the south-eastern frontiers of Russia, the Black Sea and the Dardanelles, and the north-west frontier of our Indian Empire. Within the last fifteen years a very material change has taken place in this political status, mainly owing to the intrusion of Germany as a force that has to be reckoned with. Other changes and other forces must also be taken into account. Constantinople, as the rallying point of the Mussulman power of the world, has lost its place. In fact, Turkey is rapidly drifting into the position of Persia—that is, it is becoming the plaything and victim of the ambitions of the Christian

* "The Strangling of Persia: a Record of European Diplomacy and Oriental Intrigue," by W. Morgan Shuster (London: T. Fisher Unwin).

Powers. Islam stands aghast at its powerlessness to unite to defend itself against the votaries of its sister faith of Semitic origin. Islam forgets now to look back to the seventh century after Christ, when it carried the Koran on the point of the sword North, South, East, and West, and doubted not for one instant that the blessing of Heaven favoured the cause of him who claimed to be *the* Prophet of God. But infallibility is not the appanage of any faith. Wellnigh 1,300 years have gone by, and the Islamic tide is now on the ebb. The will and devotion may be the same, but the unity of purpose is gone. Who is to arise and unite Islam in a battle *à l'outrance* between the worshippers of the Crescent and the Cross? Where is the Mussulman potentate who will take the lead? They are all mere puppets except the Amir of Afghanistan. If Islam would appeal for that justice to which a faith followed by 300 millions is entitled, it must appeal for it to-day through Christian protectionists, and foremost amongst those who should stand forth as the champions of the rights of Islam is the British Empire. No man in Christendom in the great Crusading days has left a reputation as the scourge of Islam equal to that of Richard Cœur de Lion—though Charles Martel before and John Sobieski later must not be forgotten; and possibly it may now be destined that a monarch of the mighty British Empire should gather under his wings the scattered forces of Islam, and afford to them that rallying-point which, among themselves, they will seek in vain. Under the suzerainty of our King-Emperor are India and Egypt, and his Mussulman subjects are, in addition, found in many parts of Africa, in Southern Arabia, and in the Straits Settlements. Afghanistan has long been recognized as being exclusively within the British sphere of influence, and, for all practical purposes, Eastern and South-Eastern Persia, from the Karūn Valley through Shiraz to Zulfikar, come within the same sphere. The Muhammadan population of India alone is 72 millions. When to that are added the other

millions under His Majesty's rule, it will be found that from one-third to one-half of the entire Mussulman population of the world are subjects of the British monarch.

Is it, or is it not, possible and desirable that that monarch should now take his stand as the protector of Islamic interests? That is the position which his Muhammadan subjects in India urge him to assume. If he takes it up, will he be sure of their undivided support? Can he in that capacity make head against the ambitions of the other potentates of Christendom? His Indian subjects will rally round him, and so doubtless would the majority of the peoples of Egypt and the Soudan. Strategically, Egypt is now of vital importance, and Lord Kitchener's presence there no less so. The Amir of Kabul of to-day is as complete an enigma as his father. His attitude of aloofness is more marked than ever; but it seems to be to his aloofness that he owes the honour of being the one and only independent Mussulman monarch of the day. He, at least, is ruler in his own kingdom, and, like his father, claims the status of an Islamic leader. The Sultan and the Shah are mere marionettes, dancing feebly to a tune which is luring them, as surely as the Pied Piper's pipe lured the children of Hamelin, to disappearance from this world's stage. Great Britain at this moment has a stern battle to fight, the arena of which is Mesopotamia, South-Eastern Persia, and the Persian Gulf. Russia, the reputed third in the Triple Entente, has in those parts come to such terms with Germany—be Potsdam our witness—as threaten British control of the Persian Gulf. Turkey has employed Germany as her railway agent from the Bosphorus to Baghdad, and France as such in Anatolia, leaving to both a free hand to make terms with Russia. Persia has been reduced by Russia to a state of hopeless incapacity. The attitude of England so far in this matter has been of too passing a character. Turkey is beset on every side, by Italy, by the Balkan States, and by the disloyalty of her own so-called subjects. Europe, too, is sick of misrule in

Macedonia, revolt in Albania, and massacre in Armenia. The day draws nigh when the Turk must retire across the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. If the future of a race be written clear on the mirror of destiny then is it written that the Muhammadan races of the world shall cease for the most part to be the subjects of monarchs of their own religious belief, and shall pass under the rule of Kings whose ancestors stoutly contested with their forbears the possession of the Holy Land.

No Christian, probably, can interpret the inmost impulses of a Mussulman heart, but in the time of distress friendship is thrice welcome. Islam is now sorely harried and perplexed. She knows not whither to turn. I venture to think that the British Crown will lose nothing if it arrays itself as the ally of Islam. What other ally can Islam have? Is it France or Italy, who have annexed Northern Africa? Is it Italy or Austria, who are rivals for the possession of Turkey's Adriatic provinces? Is it Austria or Russia, who have already stolen all they can in the Balkans, the Crimea, and the Caucasus? To Persia, Russia has been more Shylock than Mentor. Is it Russia or Germany, who at this moment hold in their hands the keys of Turkish railway enterprise? Is it Greece, waiting with open mouth for Crete and one or two other titbits to fall into it? China is, in a measure, a Muhammadan Power, but self-reform taxes every nerve of the Chinese Republic. Clearly, the British Empire stands out as the rallying-point of Islam, if Islam will rally to it.* The front which that Empire requires to take up in asserting its rights as the leading Muhammadan Power of the world is a line drawn from Suez to Baghdad, and thence through Isfahan to Zulfikar on the Afghan border—a good line of resistance, with the right flank protected by Afghanistan and the left by Egypt, and with British troops and a British naval

* In the *Times* of September 16 Professor Vambéry speaks of the British Empire as the strongest bulwark that Islam possesses. If Islam values that bulwark, it should not at this juncture do anything to aggravate British difficulties.

squadron ready to operate in South-East Persia and in the Persian Gulf.

The thoughts to which I have given expression above are suggested rather by the general political situation in Europe and Asia than by the strict subject-matter of Mr. Morgan Shuster's book. Of the latter certain portions can be criticized only by those who have been eyewitnesses of events in Persia during the past few years. As a British subject, I hesitate to make any comment on the relations between the British Foreign Office and Mr. Shuster, except to protest strongly against the presumptuous tone in which he writes of Sir Edward Grey. I find myself disposed to be amused by Mr. Shuster's account of some of the social stumbling-blocks set in his path on his first arrival in Teheran. They seem to me to savour somewhat of the atmosphere of Mr. Henry James's humorous picture of Washington and White House society as drawn in that clever satire "Democracy." What there could possibly be in common between Washington in 1880 and Teheran in 1911 is a problem which, theoretically viewed, might be insoluble; but, as facts declare themselves, and in defiance of Rudyard Kipling's fallacious couplet about East and West, human nature, alike in the capital of the States and of the Kājars, shows itself to be akin. We venture to draw no deductions from this fact except to hint that, as genius borders on madness, so between Monarchy and Republicanism there may be but the thinnest partition, whether at Washington or Teheran.

Where we are entitled and called upon to judge Mr. Shuster is where he deals with Russian treatment of Persia, and with the effect for good or evil of Russian policy in Persia on British policy and interests generally in the Middle East. My opinion is that that effect is mainly for evil, and I propose to state the reasons for this opinion.

The first 208 pages of Mr. Shuster's book form a very instructive and entertaining, if lamentable, picture of social and political life, mainly in the capital and northern part of Persia,

during the past five years. Only the actual eyewitnesses of and participators in the scenes recounted in this volume have them so engraved in their memories that they can dispense with this *aide-mémoire*. We find described in it the characters and personalities of those who figure most prominently in the narrative, and we find, too, excellent photographs of them. When we think that—setting aside for the moment Russia, the millstone round Persia's neck—what is wanted in that “distressful country” is one leader of unflinching probity and resolution, we read with a sickened spirit the description of “Nasir-ul-Mulk,” the one man to whom Persia turned for help and nominated Regent. A mere broken reed! As we look at the picture of Arshad-ud-daulah when about to face death at the hands of his compatriots, we feel that there was a *man* who, had he been leader of the Nationalist party, might have shown vigour and firmness. Early in the eighteenth century, when Persia was a prey alike to foreign invaders and to internal factions, the Turcoman herdsman, Nadir Kuli, arose, and only laid down his life when he had not only re-established the Persian Monarchy, but also subdued Herat, Kandahar, and Kabul, and sacked Delhi. In those days Herat and Kandahar did not sit with folded hands when Persia was in the throes of revolution. To-day a more powerful Amir sits at Kabul with his hands tied, although religion and ambition both urge him to intervene. We have often pictured an Amir joining Russia in an invasion of India. Shall we ever see an Amir join England in the emancipation of Persia? An Amir could fight for no better cause.

I would not that a new Rustum or Nadir should disturb the peace of India's resuscitated capital, but I would that the man for Persia would reveal himself, be he high or low, rich or poor, Mussulman or Gabr (Parsi). Where are those Bābis or Bahāis of whom we hear so much, whose faith has found adherents, we understand, in all parts of the world? Or will a Mahdi arise and appeal

to all the faithful, as the Mahdi of the Soudan appealed in 1884? If Islam seeks a leader and Persia a saviour, let them find their Mahdi; but he must come provided with a special dispensation for crippling Russia's paralyzing power of interference. The events of the past two years prove that the people and government of Persia are powerless to advance one pace, because Russia puts her spoke in every sound wheel practically before it has begun to move. Mr. Shuster's enthusiasm almost tempts us to find our last ray of hope in the women of Persia.*

It is, I think, worth while here to note that the methods which are so signally failing in Persia are those of Dual Control. My firm conviction is that had Persia, with the benevolent (alas! impossible) neutrality of Christian Europe, been handed over to Great Britain to regenerate, the task of regeneration would ere this have shown the first symptoms of emulating the success of British control in Egypt. France having most opportunely given England a free hand there, we have restored Egypt to a prosperity which possibly transcends that of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies. An irrigation dam is a more productive public work than a pyramid. Left alone in Egypt, England has done a noble work—so noble that, when Christendom finds it no longer possible to preserve alive the "sick man," there can be no doubt that the Nile will be classed as a British river. Contrasted with that of Egypt, the position of Persia appears now to be hopeless. England, left alone, would have conciliated Turkey in Persia, as she conciliated Turkey in Egypt. Russian action in Kurdistan at the present moment is not that of conciliation either for Persia or Turkey, but purely of self-interest.

German political enterprise in Turkey in Asia dates back a quarter of a century. The Middle East has recently become the political sphere of at least five great Christian Powers. The railway future of the territory lying between

* Pp. 183-189 of Mr. Shuster's book.

the Mediterranean and the Black Seas on the one side, and the Persian Gulf on the other, lies in the hands of France, Germany, Russia, Italy, and England. Can anyone looking at the condition of Turkey in Asia and Persia at this moment possibly express a hope that, within a quarter of a century, the entire tract comprised under those two names will not be under the protectorate of one or other of these four Powers? Is it even desirable that these countries should enjoy longer independence under Muhammadan rule? The present "misrule" is so notorious that it cries aloud for suppression. The mere name "Armenian" suggests little more than bloodshed and outrage. And, after all, who are these Turks who, in their decline, appeal to Christian sympathy? The descendants of devastating hordes from the Mongolian steppes who in the fifteenth century gained a footing in South-Eastern Europe. And what, have they done for Europe? Their noblest handiwork has been the Renaissance, the tempering from sheer fear of the religious animosities of Christendom, and, in the nineteenth century, "The Concert of Europe"! When we restore Asia Minor to the Christian, we revive the era of the Seven Churches. The shadow of the Cross dwells but faintly on Persia. The Nestorian faith had found a home here and there, but it was Zoroastrianism in the main that Islam drove out. Our Parsi fellow-subjects in India have proved that, if they are restored to the land of their forefathers, they will yet make Persia the land of prosperity. I believe now it would be wiser to turn to the Parsi for the regenerator of Persia, were I not perfectly convinced that he would have to reckon with Muhammadan fanaticism as well as Russian intrigue. Financial and commercial ability the Parsi certainly possesses. When we have in India Muhammadan statesmen of the calibre of H.H. the Agha Khan, and Parsi financiers and men of business of the capacity of the Wadias and Tatas, we may be pardoned if we regret that the Anglo-Russian Agreement, as it stands, does not appear to encourage the return

of such men to the land of their forefathers to assist in its reform and, thereby, salvation.

Avaunt, however, those chimerical schemes of reform. Let us return to sober fact. It is very sober fact for poor helpless Persia, and it is a very serious situation for His British Majesty's Empire.

The portion of Mr. Shuster's book of which, as it seems to me, the study is most incumbent on the student of Mid-Eastern affairs, comprises the four last chapters (ix. to xii.). At this moment the administrative machinery of the country is at a standstill, because the Anglo-Russian Agreement has just celebrated its first lustral anniversary by leaving Persia in a state of emasculation, pure and simple. Meanwhile Russia in the North quietly pursues her policy, leaving Britain in the South-East in a sad quandary. If the Government of India was of opinion that the military resources of the Indian Empire would be too heavily strained if they were made answerable for a sphere larger than that bounded by the line Bandar Abbas-Kirman-Birjand, was there any occasion to make this opinion public? Its futility, if not its fallacy, is rendered apparent by the fact that for nearly a year we have maintained two squadrons of Central India Horse at Shiraz, well in advance of our nominal limit.

The more we study the situation created by the existence of the neutral sphere in Persia, the more we realize the very grave mistake made by the Government of India and by His Majesty's Foreign Office in having failed to insist from the very outset of the negotiations that the British sphere must march with the Russian. We now take up Mr. Shuster's book, and find a very clear intimation that, under the agreement made between Russia and Germany at Potsdam—an agreement by which Russia distinctly went behind the backs of England and France—there is reason to believe that Russia is prepared to support Germany in securing the concession for a line from Khanikin to Hamadan, and thence southward to Khurramabad and along

the Karun Valley to Muhamra. Bear in mind that English enterprise opened up the Karun Valley, and that England herself desires to construct the Muhamra-Khurramabad line in the interests of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and last, not least, that England claims to control the railway termini (whether at Kuwait, Muhamra, or elsewhere) on the Persian Gulf, and the questionable character of this reputed action on the part of Russia becomes apparent. And, I would ask, if Russia is moving heaven and earth to get a port of her own at Chahbar, is she likely to scruple to secure one for Germany if she conceives that she and Germany can force England's hand? I misdoubt me sorely if we have yet seen the limit of the evil to which this unhappy Agreement of 1907 will lead. If the Government of India would bestir itself, as our self-governing Colonies are doing, and put a fleet on the waters of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf—a fleet that could not be summoned away to defend our North Sea coasts—we might satisfy Russia and Germany that we can still, without their intervention, maintain the Pax Britannica in those seas. Our latest intelligence brings to light two facts which invite our close attention. The first is that Germany proposes, in the event of war with Great Britain, to stop the passage of wheat through the Suez Canal, and so help to starve our island home into submission. This project alone convinces us, despite Admiralty assurances, that our naval force in the Mediterranean, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean, must be not only maintained, but largely increased. India must maintain her own fleet. A dependency with a revenue of £80,000,000 owes it to the Empire to maintain a fleet of strength proportionate to its wealth. Is the British navy to protect 300 millions of people and thousands of prospering Hindus, Parsis, and Muhammadans, rolling in wealth and luxury, for nothing?

The second item of news is contained in a telegram, dated September 8, from St. Petersburg to the *Times* intimating, in somewhat vague terms, that Russia will now urge Great

Britain to consent to some scheme of administration for Persia. When we note how Russian troops have occupied Northern Persia and imposed martial law, involving summary executions, even of high dignitaries of the faith of Islam, during the past year or more, we may well ask why the suggested occupation of Southern Persia by British troops should provoke the strong feeling on the part of Germany, Turkey, and Persia, to which Mr. Shuster refers in his "Strangling of Persia" (introduction, p. 46, and chap. x.). This can only be explained by accepting as true Mr. Shuster's warning regarding German negotiations in the direction of Kuwait or Muhamra, not forgetting at the same time that Russia's action in giving this opening to Germany is not in conformity with Article III. of the Convention of 1907. Russia can do as she pleases in her own sphere, even to granting to Germany a concession for the construction of a railway from Khanikin to Teheran, through Hamadan. But the line from Hamadan to Muhamra cannot, without previous arrangement with Great Britain, be handed over to Russia or Germany to construct.

If it be true that Great Britain and Russia intend to undertake the administration of Persia, it can only be pointed out that a dual control will not smooth the way. Japan wrought out her own salvation, while in Egypt Great Britain single-handed quickly achieved success. The progress of Persia along the path of constitutional reform is likely to be a chequered one; and when England and Russia have each completed their task, by what magic power will the two halves, fashioned the one *à la Russe* and the other *à l'Anglaise*, be dovetailed into the Persia of the New Model?*

* These developments, consequent on the arrival of M. Sazonoff in England, are outside the scope of this article.

INDIA AND THE SUGAR BOUNTIES.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

IN the last week before the rising of the House of Commons for the two months' Summer Recess—and just before the momentous by-election in North-West Manchester—the Government announced its decision to withdraw from the Brussels Sugar Convention, which had been promoted by Great Britain in 1899 on the initiative of Lord Elgin, the Liberal Viceroy of India. The only opportunity that could be found of discussing this decision, of such infinite importance to India, was on the motion for the adjournment on August 7, an hour or two before the rising of the House for the recess, and when very nearly all the members had already started on their holiday. And in this ridiculously hurried and perfunctory discussion, the only word spoken for India—the part of the Empire most deeply concerned in this question, now that the West Indies have been allowed by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt to work out their own salvation by a Preferential trade agreement with Canada—was spoken by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the speakers on the Government side as usual ignoring India altogether.

The three politicians who, perhaps more than any others, were largely responsible for the starting of the Brussels Sugar Convention were Lord Elgin, Lord MacDonnell, and Lord Inchcape. Lord Elgin was the

Liberal Viceroy who in 1898—after the most prolonged and elaborate inquiries in every province of India—sent Mr. Ozanne to Brussels as the Special Envoy of India, with instructions—

“To press for the abolition of the Sugar Bounties, and to join in an International Convention for that purpose.”—*Lord Elgin to Secretary of State, May 5, 1898.*

Lord MacDonnell (at that time Sir Anthony MacDonnell) was the Lieutenant-Governor of the Upper Provinces, who—moved thereto, as he stated to the Government of India, by the entreaties of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, and by his own observations on a recent tour through the great sugar-producing divisions of Meerut and Rohilkhand—on February 15, 1899, urged on the Government of India the consideration of the facts that—

“It is of much more importance to these provinces to preserve their sugar industry on the basis of present arrangements than to have a cheap foreign sugar supplied to the consumers of the refined article. And that—

“There is no prospect of native processes being so improved that refineries could hold their own against the foreign competition assisted by bounties.”

I may notice, parenthetically, that this last statement of Lord MacDonnell—whose Indian experience of sugar cultivation and manufacture is probably second to none—was quite a delightful anticipatory answer to the stock argument of Mr. Pennington and the Cobdenites that, when the Indian producer is beaten by the unfair competition of the protected and subsidized Germans and Austrians and Japanese, it is simply due to the stupidity of the Indian grower and the faulty methods of the Indian manufacturer. I will deal with this most unjust and ungenerous argument presently. And further, Lord Mac-

Donnell, in the same letter to the Government of India, declared that the unfair competition of the bounty-fed sugar is—

“Likely to produce continued and increasing injury, both to the sugar industry generally and to the agricultural and labouring population of the cane-producing districts. This injury is undoubtedly the result of the bounty system, which enables foreign sugar to be profitably sold at a price below its cost of production, and below the cost of manufacturing sugar in this country.

“It is submitted that the system is an arbitrary interference with the operation of the general laws of value, and that the removal of such a hindrance to freedom of exchange should be recognized as one of the duties of Government.”

And moreover, Lord Inchcape (who was then Sir James Mackay) was the “Commercial Adviser” to the Secretary of State for India at the time when it was decided that India should press for the abolition of the Sugar Bounties, and for an International Convention with this object in view. His lordship had been the very able President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce—and his firm was a leading member of that Chamber in 1908, when its urgent representations to the Government of India were really the very beginning of the movement that brought about the Brussels Sugar Convention. The Blue Book of 1899 on East India Sugar, C. 9287, shows clearly that it was the letter of the Bengal Chamber of March 1, 1898, with its astonishing disclosures of the havoc being wrought by this unfair system, not only among the cultivators, zemindars, and manufacturers of India, but also on the revenues of the Government, that finally induced Lord Elgin to take the strong action to which I have referred.

It is well known that Lord Elgin, Lord MacDonnell, and Lord Inchcape are all gentlemen possessing the

greatest influence with the present Government, and it might have been expected that that influence would be exerted to put the utmost pressure on Lord Crewe, so that the peril to India might, at any rate, have been considered by Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey before taking the decisive step of withdrawing from the Convention, and thereby openly inviting bounty-fed sugar once more to enter in and take possession of the vast markets of the United Kingdom and India.

For what was the hurry? and what was the object to be gained by withdrawal? The only possible answer is, that a most important by-election was imminent in North-West Manchester, and that the promise of artificially cheap sugar is a good vote-catching cry.

It is true that the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Acland, indignantly repudiated the intention of influencing the election, and even went so far as to declare (this was on the very night before the poll, *bien entendu*, too late to be announced to the electors in such a way as to influence many votes) that the withdrawal would not very greatly bring down the price of sugar! His words were:

“The Government believed that the position would be very little changed—the Convention would continue, bounties would not be revived, the cane-sugar industry would not be destroyed, and beet-sugar growing in this country would have just the same chance as it had now.”

But if this were true, why on earth should the Government unsettle the sugar trade all over the world, flout all the Powers whom we induced in 1898 (partly by our example, mainly by our threats of countervailing duties) to join in forming an International Convention, and imperil the future of the sugar industry in India, and to some extent in the West Indies, if our withdrawal is to have no effect, either in reducing the price of sugar, or in encouraging the resumption of the sugar-bounty system?

It is not surprising that Mr. Lough, M.P.—the champion of the cocoa, jam-making, and confectionery trades, who demand artificially cheapened sugar regardless of all other interests, and whose power in the Liberal Press is notorious—after hearing this statement of Mr. Acland, menaced him with the indignant question: Whether the Government intended to maintain the Sugar Convention? Mr. Acland meekly replied, "That the Convention was going to maintain itself!" And the value of this assertion, and of the rest of Mr. Acland's optimism, may be gauged by the striking fact that, within a few days of this announcement, the Italian Government publicly notified Belgium of its intention to immediately follow our lead, and to withdraw from the Convention!

By far the most important feature of the debate of August 7 was the declaration of Mr. Austen Chamberlain that, in his opinion, the Government, having withdrawn from the Convention, is bound in honour, and in deference to Indian public opinion, to give the Indian Government a free hand to impose such countervailing duties as might be found necessary to secure the Indian sugar industry and the Indian revenues against such inroads as those from which they suffered in the years immediately preceding Lord Elgin's drastic action in 1898.

And it is to be hoped that Lord Hardinge and the Finance Minister will take due note of the fact that the Prime Minister, in the remarkable speech in which he replied to Mr. Chamberlain, seemed entirely to admit the justice of this contention. Mr. Asquith's speech indeed—barring certain qualifications and "loopholes"—might have been made by an Imperial Preferentialist. He denounced the policy of bounties in the strongest possible terms—terms as strong as those used on similar occasions by Mr. Gladstone, by Mr. Chamberlain, and by Mr. Balfour. He agreed with Mr. Acland that our withdrawal from the Convention would have very little practical effect, save that it would enable Russia to unload some of her huge surplus

of beet-sugar on the markets of the United Kingdom. But he added—and this was the significant part of the speech—that it would enable any British Government, if it were so minded, to give a preference to the products of our own Colonies! “That,” he declared, “is one of the results,” though he took care to add, amid laughter, that his own Government is not likely “to advance in that direction.” But then he came to another result: with regard to the encouragement of the beet-sugar industry in England, he saw no reason why that should not be done by “grants from the Development Fund”! He declared, indeed, that he saw some difference between this method and that of giving a bounty—though the difference will seem to most people as puerile, and he himself admitted that other Powers, importers of English confectionery and so forth, might not agree with him.

But, anyhow, the thing that matters to us in India is, that after these declarations and admissions of Mr. Asquith, if the Government of India see fit to encourage the Indian sugar industry by imposing on the imports of foreign sugar such fair duties as will put our Indian industry in the same position as that which is enjoyed by our foreign competitors, the Imperial Government in Downing Street cannot now honorably offer any objection. And in this connection it will not be forgotten that Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt have specially permitted the West Indies to institute Preferential arrangements with Canada, and to take other steps for safeguarding their interests, while Canada and the self-governing Colonies have long possessed this right, and exercise it to the uttermost. The support given to the Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy’s motions in this direction in the Viceroy’s Legislative Council, both in the Council itself, and outside throughout India, shows clearly enough how strongly Indian politicians and economists feel that hitherto India has not received fair play from England in these matters—and, indeed, we all know that this view would long ago have been voiced much more loudly and

forcibly, but for the loyal and almost pathetic tenderness of many of the Indian leaders for the Free Trade susceptibilities of their friends in the English Liberal Party.

The pretence of the Free Traders that India is beaten by the producers of beet-sugar in Europe, and of cane-sugar in Java, solely by reason of the stupidity of Indian cultivators and the unscientific methods of Indian manufacturers, is unjust and ungenerous, and will not bear examination. It is, of course, quite true that Indian methods do urgently require, and have long required, amelioration and reform. The scientific investigations of the Sayyid Muhammad Hadi, Khán Bahádur,* have been devoted to this problem, and have done much for its solution. For some years past some of the best brains in India, both European and Indian, have been devoted to researches, having for their aim the reform of those methods. Thirty-five pages of Sir George Watt's monumental work on "The Commercial Products of India" (John Murray) are devoted to a most able and comprehensive summary of all these investigations, as well as of the history of the sugar industry; the cultivation of the sugar-cane; the palm, the beet, and the other plants yielding *Saccharum officinarum*; and the incidents and statistics of the sugar manufacture and the trade in sugar. Still more important, because brought up to date and carried out in far greater detail, is the work of Mr. F. Noël Paton, the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence with the Government of India, entitled "Notes on Sugar in India"—a marvellous production of devoted and enthusiastic industry, thorough knowledge, and remarkable ability in elucidating the real meaning hidden in voluminous statistics—of which the third edition was published last year by the Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta. Of somewhat similar value are the papers on "Sugar-Cane in India," prepared by Dr. Leather, Ph.D., F.I.C., the Imperial Agricultural Chemist of India, and pub-

* "The Sugar Industry of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh," by S. M. Hadi.

lished in July of last year in the *Agricultural Journal of India* (Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta). And every Local Government has eagerly and laboriously followed the lead of the Imperial Government in this matter, and an immense amount of work has been done and chronicled by such men as Mr. Moreland, C.I.E., I.C.S. (the Director of Land Records and Agriculture in the United Provinces), Mr. Chatterton (Madras), Mr. Gupta, I.C.S. (Eastern Bengal), Mr. Chatterji, Mr. Cumming, and a host of others who might be named.

At scores—nay hundreds—of Agricultural Congresses and Industrial Conferences, held during the last few years in every part of India, the subject of these reforms has been discussed and well threshed out. Able articles by skilled experts have appeared in all the chief periodicals of India, including the *Wednesday Review* of Trichinopoly, the *Indian Review* and the *Hindu* of Madras, the *Bengalee* and *Hindu Patriot* of Calcutta, and the *Indian Spectator* of Bombay.

Moreover, laborious and costly experiments in the cultivation and treatment of sugar-cane have been continuously carried out at the Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa, at the Partábgarh Experimental Station, and at many other places in various parts of India.

From all these facts it will be seen that the Indian sugar industry has long been the object of the tenderest and the most intelligent solicitude on the part of the savants of India, of the Indian Press, of the Indian public, of the Provincial Governments, and (so far as it is permitted by the Cobden Club and by the Free Trade bigotry of the Home Government) of the Imperial Government of India. But, unhappily, the one qualification I have just mentioned has proved just the “fly in the ointment” that has neutralized and destroyed the good effects of all the rest. After all our discussions, all our experiments, all our efforts for reform we find ourselves “up against” the one fatal obstacle that was noted by Lord MacDonnell in 1899: “There is no prospect of native processes being so improved that re-

fineries could hold their own against the foreign competition assisted by bounties." And Lord MacDonnell might have gone one step further, for, as Lord Curzon wisely pointed out in his Budget speech of March 26, 1902, when dealing with "the inequitable system of Sugar Bounties" and the beneficial result of the Brussels Conference,* "We must be on our guard that the real objects of the agreement are not evaded by indirect bounties of one or other forms," such as those which have enabled the Javanese in the Netherlands Indies to beat our Indian fellow-subjects in their own markets. As Mr. Noël-Paton pithily puts it at page 30 of his "Notes on Sugar in India," "The competition of foreign sugar is the one constant and progressive factor that accounts for the general decline in cane cultivation." That competition has always been a grossly unfair and one-sided one, for all other sugar-producing countries strictly protect their industries by large import duties—most of them have (except when prevented by the Brussels Convention) heavily reinforced that Protection by the aggressive but highly-effective method of bounties—and some, like Java, have possessed (in addition to all these other methods of Protection) an overpowering advantage in free silver. When India is beaten all along the line, even in her own markets, mainly because Cobdenite prejudices in England forcibly prevent her from taking the necessary measures to defend herself, it is adding insult to injury for English Cobdenites to lay all the blame on the faults of Indian cultivation and manufacture. Let us in India, by all means, continue the praiseworthy efforts that have been made to reform those methods, but unless the Cobden Club will permit us to defend our sugar industry in the way that every other sugar-producing country has found necessary, all our efforts (as Lord MacDonnell predicted) will prove unavailing. It was only when the establishment of the Brussels Sugar Convention gave them a chance that the West Indies were able to afford the risk of ordering

* "Lord Curzon in India," p. 100.

from England the new machinery, and of putting their industry on a modern footing. The magnificent export trade of Java, that now enriches the Dutchmen by dumping on India sugar to the value of about six millions sterling per annum, did not exist until the Netherlands Government rendered it possible by imposing import duties varying from £1 2s. 10d. to £1 4s. 2d. per hundredweight, and subsequently by giving bounties on the export of cane-sugar higher than those on beet-sugar, and considerably higher than the German or Austrian bounties. And so in the case of every other sugar-producing country—if the Cobden Club got possession of Java to-morrow, she would very quickly lose, not only the Indian trade, but also her own home trade.

There was a time when India produced half the sugar of the whole world. Even now it is believed that she produces far more than any other country, and about ten times as much as the West Indies. In 1851 India exported to Great Britain alone over 1,500,000 cwts. of raw sugar, and for many years sugar was nearly her most valuable export. Now her export is practically non-existent, while she is compelled to purchase from abroad for her own internal consumption every year sugar to the enormous value of seven millions sterling! Sugar—the indigenous product of India, the commodity which she ought to be able to produce more cheaply than any other country in the world if natural laws counted for anything, the commodity which she used to export in enormous quantities until modern fiscal conditions made it impossible—is now her largest import, save only textile manufactures!

It is needless to say that the vast bulk of this huge import comes from Protected countries. Now let us examine, by the light of Mr. Noël-Paton's official figures, how this extraordinary revolution in the sugar trade of India has come about.

Starting with the quinquennium 1884-85 to 1888-89—before the full effects of Protection were felt, and before the existence of the bounties—the imports from Austria-

Hungary were to the average annual value of less than £5,000; those from Belgium were less than £1,000; those from Germany were less than £3,000; and those from the Dutch East Indies (Java) were less than £10,000.

Next, taking the year 1906-07—when both Protection and bounties had done their work, and before the full effects of the withdrawal of the bounties under the Brussels Convention, 1903, were felt—the imports from Austria-Hungary were slightly under £1,000,000; those from Belgium were nearly £70,000; those from Germany were over £1,100,000; and those from Java were nearly £2,000,000.

And lastly, taking the last year given in Mr. Noël-Paton's "Tables," 1909-10—when the withdrawal of bounties under the Brussels Convention had taken effect, but with that exception the fullest Protection in these countries still prevailed, including the enormous advantage of free silver for Java—the imports from Austria-Hungary were over £300,000; those from Belgium were £1,000; those from Germany were slightly over £60,000; those from Java were over £3,000,000. And the "Moral and Material Progress," Blue book for 1910-11, No. 147, published in June, 1912, shows that all the movements here indicated were still continued with increased force.

These figures tell their own tale. Need we any further witness of the absolute truth of Lord MacDonnell's dictum that the great sugar industry of India cannot withstand the unfair competition of foreign imports, unless fiscal reform, or at least countervailing duties, come to its rescue quickly?

The figures show, beyond the possibility of dispute, that the combined forces of Protection in their home markets, of bounties for their exports, and (in the case of Java) of free silver, in the early nineties, were simply surrendering the whole sugar supply of India into the hands of the Austrian, German, and Javanese exporters. They show that the withdrawal of the bounties under the Brussels Convention was abundantly effective in checking the

absurdly artificial advantage which those bounties had given to Austria and Germany; for the huge figures to which the imports had rapidly attained in 1903, and had retained and increased till 1906, were as rapidly diminished during the years between 1906 and 1910. But they show that, when once the hold on the Indian market had been firmly grasped by these obviously unfair methods, dumping to a very large and even ruinous extent can be maintained by Protection alone, and can be increased quite indefinitely (as in the case of Java) by the double Protection of big import duties and of free silver, even after the withdrawal of the bounties.

These figures are before the Government of India, who are undoubtedly aware of their extreme significance. They are before Lord Crewe and his commercial adviser and his Council, to whom, one would imagine, they must be causing infinite concern. And yet Mr. Asquith, by withdrawing from the Brussels Convention, is deliberately inviting the dumping countries to renew their bounties—an invitation to which Italy, at any rate, has already returned an answer—and, in order to have the credit of “cheap sugar” at the by-elections, is prepared to sacrifice, not only British refiners, but one of the greatest, most popular, and most lucrative of India’s industries!

For let us turn once more to Mr. Noël-Paton’s “Note,” and see what his figures tell us, when considered together with the figures of the Blue books, of the actual results of the unfair foreign competition on the cultivation of the sugar-cane. That cultivation, though its chief home is in the United Provinces, is practically ubiquitous throughout India; and it has been pointed out that its acreage has exceeded the aggregate acreage of the tea, tobacco, and indigo industries put together, while any injury to it seriously affects both the material condition of the population, and the land and canal revenues, and the income-tax. Mr. Noël-Paton, after setting out in full the acreage under sugar-cane in every province of British India for every

year since 1892 down to 1908-09, makes this very serious statement :

“From these statistics it may be seen that since 1892 (the year taken as a starting-point in some of our analyses) there has been a net decline of something like 550,000 acres, or 20 per cent.”

Then, comparing Mr. Noël-Paton's figures for 1908-09 with those for last year, 1910-11, as given by the recently published “Moral and Material Progress Report,” No. 147, we find there has been a still further net decline of 139,067 acres, making an aggregate net decline since 1892 of no less than 689,067 acres! And this is the moment chosen by Mr. Asquith's Government to withdraw from the Convention!

Now let us examine Dr. Leather's expert explanation of this appalling decline in the cultivation of one of India's staple crops. Dr. Leather writes, in the *Agricultural Journal of India*, published in July, 1911, for the Imperial Department of Agriculture :

“India is importing more than 500,000 tons of sugar annually.

“This statement will sufficiently indicate the object of the present article. It is not merely that the above indicated quantity is large, but it is also one that is constantly increasing. Twenty years ago India purchased 100,000 tons of sugar; ten years ago the import had risen to 300,000 tons; now it is in excess of 600,000 tons. The fact is all the more striking when it is recollected that India produces more sugar than any other country, the estimated production being about 3,000,000 tons.”

And Dr. Leather goes on to show that the reason for this is evident—that the price the Indian producer can get for his sugar in competition with the foreign subsidized commodity is so small that it pays the cultivator better

to sow the land with other crops. But surely Lord Crewe must see that this means the wanton surrender on his part of a great Indian industry important alike to the people and to the revenue?

I have said that Mr. Asquith, by withdrawing from the Brussels Convention, is deliberately inviting the Powers to renew the Sugar Bounties. I mean, of course, that that is the sense in which the Government's action must necessarily be construed, and the fact is proved by the immediate action of Italy in announcing her withdrawal also. I am aware that Sir Edward Grey has appended to his notice of withdrawal a humble appeal *ad misericordiam* to the contracting Powers not to follow England's example, coupled with a cringing assurance that we really mean nothing by our withdrawal; that we shall continue to do exactly as we have hitherto done, in accordance with the interests of the contracting Powers; and, above all, that we have no intention of helping our own Colonial or Indian fellow-subjects. Imagine an English statesman—a Pitt or a Palmerston, a Disraeli or a Gladstone—voluntarily offering to the foreigner such a grovelling assurance! Here are Sir Edward Grey's *ipsissima verba*:

“His Majesty's Government have, however, no intention of departing from the fundamental principles of the Convention by themselves giving bounties on the export of sugar, or by giving preference to sugar produced within the British Empire on importation into the United Kingdom, or by imposing a higher Customs duty on beet-sugar than on cane-sugar. They will, moreover, be prepared to maintain the present system of giving Customs certificates to any refiners or exporters of sugar not made from bounty-fed materials who may desire such certificates, with a view to enable the sugar to be imported into the countries of the Sugar Union at the lowest rate of duty. His Majesty's Government will not depart in any particular from the policy laid down above

without giving due notice through the usual channels to the States of the Sugar Union.

"His Majesty's Government, in making this declaration of policy, desire at the same time to put on record their hope that the States of the Sugar Union, on their part, will in no way alter the existing régime applicable to sugar and sugared products to the detriment of British trade."

In other words: "We are only doing this thing, so mean and so offensive to those Powers whom we have induced to form the Brussels Convention, merely to catch a few votes in the coming by-elections—we are quite willing to throw overboard all sugar producers 'within the British Empire'—so please do not take offence, or do anything 'to the detriment of British trade.'"

This being the attitude of Mr. Asquith's Government, the question remains, What ought to be done? That the question is one of absolutely vital importance to India, I have shown on the authority of all those who know best. And the answer has been given, in anticipation of this event, by all the Indian Chambers of Commerce. When it first became clear that Mr. Asquith's electioneering exigencies might lead him to this withdrawal, all the Chambers of Commerce primarily concerned took the matter into consideration and passed resolutions upon it, and the upshot of those discussions was admirably expressed in a letter of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, Cawnpore, addressed to the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, Simla. The following are the salient paragraphs of that letter:

"My committee view with grave concern the possibility of England's withdrawal from the Convention, and the consequences which might be anticipated to follow such a step—viz., the defection of the other contracting parties, and the revival of the Sugar Bounties. There are indications that the Indian sugar

industry is at last emerging from the depression into which it had fallen prior to the inauguration of the Indian Government's policy towards the bounty system, and it is of capital importance that everything possible should be done to prevent a relapse. For this country to be again exposed to imports of bounty-aided sugars selling at prices below the cost of production would, my committee feel convinced, result in a general setback alike in cultivation and manufacture which could not be contemplated without serious misgivings.

"My committee regard the Brussels Convention as a powerful instrument for the maintenance of fair trade in sugar, and, although the imposition of the countervailing duties probably went further in restoring equality of conditions between the imported bounty-fed articles and the Indian product, they desire to be associated with the opinions expressed by the Chambers of Commerce of Bengal, Madras, and Karachi, as to the need for England's adherence to this treaty.

"At the same time, I am to express the hope that in representing to His Majesty's Ministers in England the strong claims of India in conjunction with the British sugar-producing colonies to the fullest consideration in regard to this vitally important question, His Excellency the Governor-General will take the opportunity of declaring the Government of India's intention in the event of a revival of the Sugar Bounties to reimpose the countervailing duties."

It will be seen that the Chamber of Upper India in thus expressing their unanimous opinion on "this vitally important question," plainly declare that they are also voicing the views of the Chambers of Bengal, of Madras, and of Karachi. The opinion expressed by the Chamber of Upper India—that the Government of India should be permitted to declare its intention to reimpose, if necessary, the countervailing duties—has now been endorsed in the House of Commons by the high authority of Mr. Austen

Chamberlain, the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer—and it may be confidently hoped that both His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, being thus virtually assured of the assent of the House of Commons, will at once make themselves responsible for this act of the merest justice to India, and that when they introduce into the Viceroy's Legislative Council a Bill to impose countervailing duties on the import of foreign sugar into India, they will not forget that those duties, to be really countervailing, must take account, both of the Protection accorded to foreign sugar, and of the fact that most of it is produced in countries where the producers derive a large bounty from the freedom of silver. It has often been pointed out in India that, when in this way Indian sugar is put on a fair level of equal treatment with the foreign, it is only the refined and the highest-class sugar that is practically affected in price, and this is only used by the European population and the richer Indians. And, moreover, the free competition of comparatively untaxed imports from Mauritius and the Straits Settlements with the Indian product is quite sufficient to insure stability of prices, even for the highest-class sugar. The main effect of such moderate countervailing duties as are advocated by the Indian Chambers of Commerce will be to bring back and increase the old level of sugar-cane cultivation, and thereby to relieve the agricultural population of India and the revenues of the Government from a great impending peril.

"THE CRISIS IN INDIA FROM AN INDIAN
POINT OF VIEW."*

By R. H. SHIPLEY, L.C.S. (RETIRED).

It is, perhaps, to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald that we owe this remarkable book, "The Crisis in India." I hasten to explain that Mr. R. Macdonald is not the author of it, but only the *causa causans* of its coming into being. "The Awakening of India" has given birth to "The Crisis in India"—a natural, but perhaps in this case an unexpected, consequence. *Habent sua fata libelli.*

I call this book remarkable, because it is written from the Conservative point of view by a Brahmin lawyer—by a member, that is, of the two classes of Indians which English people credit with far different opinions. Mr. K. Srinivasa Rao has seen and done much public service; he has been an elected member of a pre-reform Legislative Council, a Government pleader, and at present he is an Additional Sessions Judge. He has taken part in the framing of laws; and in the courts he has not only argued cases on behalf of private litigants, but has been entrusted with the preparation, the pleading and the decision of Government suits. He has thus looked at the Indian question from the point of view both of the governed and the Government, and this book represents his settled convictions after a long study of both sides of the question, and after a careful weighing of causes and results. He is, as far as I am aware, the first Indian writer who has dared openly to take the "unpopular" side, and to utter what many Indians believe, namely, that

* For discussion on this paper see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

India has at present no use for the English theories on democracy, and far less for the theories of the English Socialist Labour Party. It is, in fact, the keystone of his political opinions that those views are utterly unsuited for India, and that her salvation lies, not in experimenting with new forms of government, but in retaining and strengthening the existing form.

His preface is an *apologia pro libro meo*. Why, he asks, should the field of expounding matters Indian be left entirely to the foreigner? "Indian views and opinions are taken by foreign writers or globe-trotting M.P.'s just to the extent that they tally with their own notions of things, either preconceived or conceived on the spur of the moment of their observations in their tour." "While so many are anxious to write about us, and write us up and down as they like, why should not we tell the world about British Rule in India ourselves, to help to a better understanding of things as they are?"

Semper ego auditor tantum? Nunquam-ne reponam? Why not, indeed? So here is a tilt at the Sir Oracles who—

Argue high and argue low
And also argue round about them

on subjects of which they have a very limited understanding. Mr. Srinivasa Rao certainly does not admit one of "Pagett-M.P.'s" favourite theories, that political views about India are all the more valuable when coming from one who is essentially ignorant of her—on the principle, we presume, that *peu savoir, c'est tout comprendre*. He thinks, in effect, that the "modern eye" is apt to be myopic and astigmatic. He prefers the Indian eye.

The book is in the form of a dialogue between "Mr. Ramdoss" and "Mr. Alfred," a retired Madras civilian. Mr. Alfred confesses himself to be a Radical reformer (which is not such a pleonasm as might be thought). Mr. Alfred is, however, not permitted to expound his theories at any length. Though he is used as an *advocatus diaboli*

(*honi soit qui mal y pense !*), his remarks are very short, and couched chiefly in the form of Parliamentary questions, and he is promptly "snowed under" by a series of argumentative avalanches which give the poor man no chance.

Mr. Alfred's attitude toward Indian questions is typical of the Radical reformer, who starts with the assumption that what is good for England is good for all countries from Pole to Pole. But Mr. Srinivasa Rao will not admit any similarity between the political soil of England and of India; and as for Japan, which is often quoted as a triumphant example of the success of democratic principles, he points out that it was by no means the democracy that raised Japan to its present position. As regards India, using a medical illustration, he objects to ignorant foreign doctors experimenting upon her with their patent drugs and nostrums, which may do well enough in the doctors' own country, but yet fail when tried on an Indian constitution under an Indian sun. It is part of the mental equipment of Radical enthusiasts that they hold political freedom to be the only basis of true progress. And this is where Mr. Srinivasa Rao differs from them and from the majority of Indian politicians; for he holds that though there is, of course, an intimate connection between political and social reform, yet the latter is the real basis for the former, at any rate in India, wherein he is the disciple of the late Mr. Justice Ranade.

Mr. Srinivasa Rao is no believer in a democratic Government for India. All through his book he insists that "the genius of Indian polity is and has been essentially monarchical." This may be said of all Oriental nations. I might indeed go further, and say that the one-man rule is natural to all human communities, and that they have adopted the democratic form only when the Monarch has been untrue to his trust. As regards India I hold that Mr. Srinivasa Rao is absolutely right. All Hindu social conditions, as well as the Hindu religion itself, rest on the foundation of caste; and the caste system is the most

aristocratic in the world. Islam also is autocratic, though, as Professor Margoliouth points out in his book on Moham-medanism, "texts are now cited from the Koran showing that what Islam contemplated was democracy; but, (he adds,) this seems to be due to a confusion between advisory councils and legislative or administrative councils"; a confusion from which Radical M.P.'s are not free when they compare Native States with British India.

Further, being first and foremost a Social Reformer, he looks upon political freedom as a dangerous and delusive fetish. Using that much ill-used term "democracy" in the sense of Government by the people, he denies emphatically that it is the best road even to political freedom; and he quotes with approval a French observer who says:

"I rather look upon liberty as a thing realizable only by a people which has attained its highest potentialities, *moral greatness and perfect self-respect.*"

Mr. Srinivasa Rao comments on this: "Moral greatness, that is the basis which means a high national character," and this he fails to find as yet in India. *Righteousness exalteth a nation*: it was an Oriental king who said that, and it applies with even greater force to the nations of to-day than of old. It is no secret that Indian administrators look upon this want of character as the great bar to Indian political progress. However liberal they may be in their private opinions, however sympathetic to the political aspirations of the Moderate party, the large majority of English officers, of all services, know from experience that India is not yet fit for the mildest form of democratic Government. I think I am on safe ground in affirming that the character of Indian officials may fairly be taken as representative of the character of educated Indians as a whole; they are drawn from the same classes, they have received the same education, they have, in addition, enjoyed the advantage of the supervision of and

co-operation with picked English and Indian officers. Yet, vastly as they have improved of late years, it cannot with truth be asserted that their standard of civic virtues approaches to within reasonable distance of the Western standard. Pagett, M.P., will no doubt wave this opinion aside with a House of Commons gesture, but even he might ask himself what proportion of the educated classes in India consists of Government officials, and whether the opinion of the most thoughtful of them is not worth as much as the outpourings of non-official politicians. Now, that is an opinion that has been expressed by scores of high Indian officials, both Hindu and Mohammedan.

The truth is, as our author sees clearly enough, that isolated virtues are little good without "character." Character is the cement that binds them and strengthens them and renders them efficient; it is the most valuable possession of a nation; it may be said to be a "*conditio sine qua non*" of permanent nationality. But it is, in the mass, absent in India. I am inclined to think that it is more frequent among Mohammedans than among Hindus, for they at least have the *nexus* of a common and definite religion. And this brings me to another of Mr. Srinivasa Rao's arguments against the introduction of a democratic form of government in India.

He maintains that it presupposes a sound national feeling, and he denies that what political feeling there is in India is either sound or national. "Particularismus," as the Germans call it, is rampant there. When we speak, he says, of the "English," the "French," or the "German" nation, the expression evokes a definite idea. It has a technical meaning, because in those countries "nationality" is a definite and concrete thing. But the word "Indian" evokes no such idea, it conjures up no mental picture of anything that exists; it is vague, nebulous; it touches none of the divisions of Indians, whereas the names of such divisions do evoke a feeling. (He means, I presume, that it is only a geographical expression without any political or

social sense.) The words "Mohammedan," "Christian," "Parsee" connote the feelings of these particular classes ; but again, the word "Hindu" does not, because it is almost as vague as the word "Indian." To evoke any particular feeling among Hindus you must use words denoting particular classes or castes, and even these are innumerable subdivided. Each forms its own circle, and these thousands of circles are not concentric. Each has its own separate centre ; each is more or less hostile to its neighbour. There is no national centre. Even assuming that one existed, the orbits of all these separate circles are centrifugal, and promote not a national, but an anti-national feeling. The many "Sabbas," "Samajes," "Conferences," etc., are not national movements, they are particular and spasmodic forces. They do not coalesce, they cross and oppose each other.

"Each appears to be acting under the belief that if it does not assert its own sectional life against the rest it will be sunk and disappear."

Even the great revival in agricultural associations, in co-operative associations and so on, he says, is not national ; it is only a powerful indication that India is developing on her own old lines ; it is no indication of any tendency in the different classes to merge in each other. The sectarian spirit is stronger than ever ; there is no sign of any sacrifice to the idea of nationality. And the reason for this is, that in India the individual is everything, the "people" is nothing—the result of the Indian philosophy of "Karma," a passive and fatalistic philosophy which gives no encouragement to political reform. Not only is there, therefore, in India no political "Demos," but the very foundations are lacking on which to build one ; for what there is of political feeling in India is monarchical and aristocratic.

I cannot go all the way with Mr. Srinivasa Rao in these opinions ; I hold that more than one of the political associations in India had for its object the promotion of the national

idea ; and as regards non-political associations, I think he has exaggerated their centrifugal tendencies. In the very nature of things there must be unifying tendencies in agricultural and social conferences. Where men meet together to discuss matters affecting the social and economical progress of the country at large and to advocate measures to further it, they cannot help sinking their political or caste differences for a time, and little by little the habit of liberty and conciliation grows in them. But this, perhaps, only applies in non-political matters and where there is common ground for the various sections to stand on.

Nevertheless, what Mr. Srinivasa Rao says on this subject as regards India is in the main so true as to be one of the commonplaces of a knowledge of her political condition. But none the less is it ignored and slurred over by impatient reformers. Sectarianism, they point out, is not of itself a weakness in a nation ; it may even on occasions be a source of strength to it. This is true ; we have had proof of it in England in the past ; and to-day, too, we see fissiparous tendencies at work. These are, no doubt, rifts within the lute, but they will not make the music mute, they only make it more discordant ; and when the nation wearies of the discord it takes steps to enforce harmony again. This is sometimes called progress. But I take it that these apologists of Indian sectarianism fail to observe that sectarianism is not a cement but a solvent where the various sections are not bound together by the bond of nationality.

There is little doubt that sectarianism, if not on the increase in India, is at any rate as vigorous and all-pervading as ever. Society, in Southern India at least, still exhibits the same old tendency to form itself into groups for the protection of caste or individual interests. I have come across many examples of this in the course of my official career in those parts. For instance, there has arisen in Madras a strongly supported "Naidu Society," an association of persons belonging to the Naidu castes, explicitly for

their own advancement, but implicitly for their protection against Brahmin encroachments. Again, in the east coast Telugu districts of the same presidency there is "The Northern League," which practically boycotts all southerners who live there, especially southern officials. Even Telugu men who have served or spent a long time in the south have come under their ban. It should be added that this league is composed of all castes. Missionaries, too, can tell strange tales of the evil of this sectarian spirit in native Christian communities. I remember hearing of some trouble that arose in a native Protestant church near Trichinopoly, in which there were two doors, one for the so-called caste Christians, and the other for the pariah Christians. A zealous missionary closed one of the doors, not approving of this eclecticism; but the "caste" feeling of his congregation was too strong for him, and after a narrow escape from personal violence he had to give way and reopen the other door.

These and similar ebullitions of sectarianism would be of little importance were they isolated cases; but they are typical of Indian society. Such a characteristic is undoubtedly an element of weakness in the social and political fabric, and does not make for unity. It is as futile as it is dangerous to apply Western analogies to Indian conditions, for there is no resemblance whatever between the political feeling, such as it is, that exists in India to-day and that which was the moving spirit in the great political changes of the West. To the claim that democracy will put an end to these divisions Mr. Srinivasa Rao replies:

"You may say that democracy is powerful enough to destroy the anti-national centres and bring about national feeling in course of time. But with equal force I may point out that it is just as possible that, in the conflict between the nationalizing tendency of democracy and the anti-national centres of Indian life, *which* is going to win will depend on the strength of

the one as against the other. If the anti-national centres are strong enough and will not yield, then democracy will fail."

He believes in the latter contingency, and he holds that to introduce democracy into India under her present conditions would be a very dangerous experiment, and one that cannot be justified. He is not moved by Mr. Alfred's horrified exclamation: "Do you mean to tell me, then, that the nationalizing forces are not at work in India? If so, it would be the severest condemnation of British rule for half a century." He points out that Mr. Alfred, in common with most Radical reformers, begs the question, and "connects every accident of modern civilization with democracy as its necessary concomitant or invariable cause," and he argues that this is a mistake. The Hindus, at all events, believe implicitly that their golden age was under the reign of just and wise monarchs, and the greatest of Tamil poets is quoted as describing, "with even more wisdom than poetry," the state of the country under Rama as blissful:

"There was no wealth in the land, because there was no poverty.
There was no strength in the land, because there was no weakness.
There was no truthfulness in the land, because there was no lying;
And there was no ignorance in the land, because debates and discussions were the order of the day."

Further, Mr. Srinivasa Rao very truly says that if you want to see how democracy will work in India, you have only to go to Pondicherry. It has had, and is having, its chance there, but it is a mournful failure. I need not labour this point; the fact is notorious. I need only remark, in passing, that it is very strange that no Radical Member of Parliament seems to have visited that part of India and studied on the spot the working of an Indian democracy.

One of our author's strongest arguments against the introduction of democratic government into India is that in such a matter you must consider India as a whole, and

not think only of British India. Now, a very large part of the continent consists of Native States. British India contains, roughly, 1,000,000 square miles; the Native States contain 750,000 square miles. The population of India is, according to the census of 1901, 232,000,000; that of the Native States 62,000,000. It is, therefore, clearly necessary, before making any change in the Government of British India, to weigh well the effect it would have on the Feudatory States. English people are too much in the habit of looking upon territorial divisions in India as they do upon counties at home. Even when they can quote statistics about the Native States they do not always realize their political importance. It is absolutely certain that nothing we could do would more certainly alienate the Native Princes than the introduction of democratic government into British India.

"The element of personal rule," says Mr. Srinivasa Rao, "is infinitely more powerful in the Native States than in the British Government. The Native States do not believe in democracy. They dread it, because the idea of sovereign or king in India is that he is the source of all power. The most enlightened of Indian Princes may vie with each other in bringing up their dominions to the highest level of progress on modern lines, but none of them would give a particle of power to the people as such."

The Native States are the main prop of British rule in India; weaken that prop, and the whole edifice is in imminent danger of collapse. We are aware that by many superficial observers they are held up to admiration, generally in contrast to British India, on account of their "enlightened policy" in having constituted so-called representative assemblies. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald alludes to these as "Parliamentary institutions of a kind"; but he is honest enough to admit (though only in a footnote) that "these bodies are not allowed to interfere with the Government, and are hardly even nominal legislatures." The fact is that these assemblies are for show.

"They may indulge in feeble imitations of a mere shadow of the popular form of government, like the Representative Assembly of Mysore or the Srimulam Assembly of Travancore, merely to satisfy the *amour propre* of the British Government. It is nothing more than a compliment paid to the British. They do not mean to adopt it themselves. . . . They would rather cease to exist themselves than divide power with the people."

"*Aut Cesar, aut nullus*," in fact. But the Radical reformer ignores this aspect of the question, or else comforts himself with the assertion that when the British Indian Government has assumed a democratic garb, the Native States will come into line.

Mr. Srinivasa Rao is on firm ground here. His arguments are based on actualities, not on hypotheses. You may argue that the Indian "people" would be better for a democratic government, but it is running your head against a brick wall to assert that, except under the greatest pressure, the native Princes would modify their rule in this direction, and the result would be an immediate end of all good understanding between them and us.

Mr. Srinivasa Rao never wearies of repeating that Western democratic ideas are fundamentally unsuited to India, whose genius is religious rather than political. He even devotes several amusing pages to proving how impossible it would be to have Parliamentary government there on the English principle. This is, as Babu Chatterji happily puts it, "a superfluous castigation of an already defunct equine animal," and I need not delay over this part longer than to notice the warning that English criticism of the Indian Government is seriously misunderstood in India.

"While the Radical thinks that his honest criticism of the Indian Government is merely to mend it in his own Parliamentary fashion, he scarcely realizes that the millions of India, unaccustomed to the Parliamentary form, only

take his criticism to mean that he is willing to contribute another axe to be laid at the very root of the British Government."

Mr. Srinivasa Rao clearly does not agree with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald that the Indian administration needs more of "the purifying effects of Parliament"; in fact, he thinks that ill-considered criticism of Englishmen and methods in India is one of the sources of Indian unrest and sedition.

On this subject of sedition he has a good deal to say that is interesting, and coming from a sane and impartial observer, his remarks are well worthy of serious attention. Curiously enough, he does not, (in this book at least,) connect sedition with religious revivalism, a point on which Sir Valentine Chirol lays repeated stress, and which the Rajah of Ratlam also advances.

The Rajah says: "Hindus, and, for the matter of that, all Oriental peoples, are swayed more by religion than anything else." Government have hitherto adopted, and rightly adopted, the policy of allowing perfect freedom in the matter of religious beliefs; but, as the seditionists are seeking to connect their anarchical movement with religion and the political *Sadhu* is abroad, it is high time to change the policy of non-interference in so-called religious affairs. The new religion which is now being preached, with its worship of heroes like Sivaji, and the doctrine of India for Indians alone, deserves, this Hindu Prince boldly declares, to be treated as Thuggism and Suttee were treated, which both claimed the sanction of religion. "It pains me," he adds, "to write as above, but already religion has played a prominent part in this matter, and religious books were found in almost every search made for weapons and bombs. The rôle of the priest or the 'Sadhu' is most convenient, and rulers have bowed and do bow to religious preachers. These people generally distort the real import of religious teaching, and thereby vitiate the public mind" ("Indian Unrest," p. 193).

Mr. Srinivasa Rao seems to write of the seditious movement as if it were entirely secular. This is probably due to a Brahmin's very natural dislike to describe it as in any way due to religious teaching. Apart from this aspect of the question, he holds (as indeed all Indians hold) that this modern form of sedition is a purely Western exotic, the result of a faulty sense of proportion and of a misunderstanding of all history. He says it is "a political plague," and no index to the mind of the country; and thinks it has only attacked a few who believe that England bars the way to Indian progress, and whose mental balance has been disturbed by such catch-words as "India for the Indians," "No Taxation without Representation," "One's own Government, however bad, is better than the best Foreign Government," "Good Government is no substitute for Self-Government," etc. Mr. Srinivasa Rao pours scorn on this second cry. Reverting to a former metaphor, he says it means that one's own disease is better than any foreign medicine, and he points out that it is the foreign medicine of British Rule that has cured their internal sickness, and unified a distracted country "which even yet cannot hold itself together even for social efficiency and organization." "Social and political virtues," he adds, "are just dawning on the country, as a direct consequence of British rule, but they are developing slowly. It is unjust to blame England for this slow development, because it is solely due to internal weakness, a weakness for which the British administration provides the necessary tonic."

The difficulty of dealing with sedition arises, he thinks, from uncertainty as to the programme of the seditious party. Its root idea appears to be the overthrow of the British administration, but the methods by which it hopes to effect this are not known; perhaps it does not know itself. In any case nothing is more certain than that it will not gain its end by a few sporadic murders. It has, however, a good organization and its members show a remarkable courage allied to caution. Underlying all their

acts of violence is the belief that grievances are best removed by brute force. Mr. Srinivasa Rao once asked "a budding seditionist" what his programme was. "Blood and fire," he answered. He quotes also from a letter from the Bharatamata Association :

'The members of the B.A., wish to inform you hereby that if you mix yourselves up in public questions as against the B.A., you will soon find the consequences. You will be cut, quartered and thrown to the winds.' (Indians use the word "cut" as meaning "to cut down" or "to stab.")

This terrorism adds enormously to the difficulties of the Administration in dealing with sedition, for educated Indians are a timid folk. But besides this fear of bodily harm there is another cause at work to make loyalists unwilling to come out into the open against sedition; and that is that they are certain that their attitude will be misrepresented. In Mr. Srinivasa Rao's words :

"They are given bad names by some of the most enlightened of their own countrymen occupying high and responsible posts under Government, who look upon their active and aggressive work of loyalty as proceeding from a low and selfish motive. This is the most awful part of the situation."

I agree, and I admire Mr. Srinivasa Rao's courage in braving these physical and moral dangers. Such drawbacks to loyalty are, however, not peculiar to India. They are as old as history and as wide as the world. Similar imputations against public men are not unknown to us nearer home; for there is so much insincerity and self-seeking even in English public and political life that an honest single-minded change of conviction can rarely escape the charge of having been encouraged, if not caused by unworthy ulterior motives.

Mr. Srinivasa Rao's suggestions for stiffening the backbone of the loyalists are that the Government should openly support them by a system of rewards and pensions, both in the case of officials and non-officials. This, he says, is the Oriental method, and as the Government is dealing with an Oriental people it should adopt their methods. Fabulous sums are being spent in prosecutions for sedition, and it would be far better to spend that money in helping the growth of aggressive loyalty among Indians as the one sentiment that can guard the sovereign power and its representatives. Nothing is more futile than the policy of offering sops to the seditionists ; it can only result in more black-mail. He condemns the Government for their weakness and vacillating policy in regard to sedition, and he ascribes it as in great part due to its ignorance of what is going on.

There is, no doubt, a good deal of truth in all this ; but surely Mr. Srinivasa Rao must know that the Government has not been backward either in granting rewards to those who take an active part in the fight against sedition, or in giving pensions to the families of such as fall in that fight. And as regards rewarding those who "render substantial service in ferreting out seditious plots and in giving timely information," he must also be well aware of the risks of such a course : a certain notorious trial in Bengal has fully exposed them. As a former Public Prosecutor and present Sessions Judge, he must be well able to gauge the enormous difficulty of sifting the true from the false in India. And does he really mean that the Government is to launch no more prosecutions against seditionists ? How else is the Government to suppress them ? Without prosecutions what would be the use of the most accurate and timely information ? I am afraid that Mr. Srinivasa Rao has not sufficiently thought out this part of his subject.

The charge of ignorance is not ill-founded ; but here again Mr. Srinivasa Rao, with all his experience, will surely

not hold the Government alone to blame for an ignorance that is chiefly the fault of the people themselves? Whether the cause be indifference, fear, or sympathy, it is a characteristic of the Indian people that they are almost incredibly secretive. I can give a striking example of this from my own experience. In the district of Vizagapatam there is a taluk which some seventy years ago belonged to a local Rajah. Owing to his persistent misgovernment it was taken from him, and he was pensioned off. He attempted to recover it by force of arms, and of course failed. He died, and the pension was continued to his heirs. In 1891 I was Principal Assistant in that division of the district, and I heard that the son or grandson of that Rajah was stirring up trouble, and probably preparing the ground for another rising. Nothing definite could be ascertained, but it was deemed advisable to send for him and bind him over to keep the peace. Some six weeks later, during which time not a whisper of any warning reached the authorities, an "army" of 500 men suddenly attacked a stockaded police station fifteen or twenty miles from the Taluk headquarters, murdered the constables and carried off their arms. They were at once pursued, and after a protracted hunt through the jungles, in the course of which the main body broke up, thirty of them surrendered on the death from dysentery of their leader. The investigation which followed showed that this army had been assembling in a village ten miles from the headquarters of the taluk. Yet not a soul had given any information. The native Tahsildar was as ignorant of what was going on as the English civil and the police officers. The village officers, of course, knew all about it; so, perhaps, did one or two subordinate revenue officials; but they did not report it. Why not? They had nothing to gain from the rebellion. They could hardly have believed it would be successful. Was their secrecy due to sympathy, fear, or indifference? If, then, poor and uneducated peasants can engineer such surprises, how much easier is it for an organization of clever, educated and rich

persons to do so, making use of religious fervour as an additional stimulus to misguided patriotism ! The truth is that, outside and below the educated classes, the people take no interest in what we call the Government. As in their religion they must worship a personal god, so in their secular affairs they must look up to some concrete being as their ruler, to somebody visible and accessible. Government in the abstract conveys no idea to them ; they only understand what touches them. And so it is that to the people at large the Collector is still the Government. They know in a vague way that there is a Power behind the Collector that sometimes supports him and sometimes overrules him—(the petition writers see to it that they shall know this)—but nevertheless the Collector is to them still the embodiment of the Government. When he is touring in the district all the villages round his camp are interested in his movements. If, on the other hand, a member of the Board of Revenue goes on tour the people are not interested. I believe that even the tour of a Governor would create no excitement outside municipal towns if he was not accompanied by the Collector. Sir Ali Baba understood this :

“ To the people of India,” he writes, “ the Collector is the Imperial Government. He watches over their welfare in the many facets that reflect our civilization. He establishes schools, dispensaries, gaols, and courts of justice. He levies the rent of their fields . . . and he nominates to every appointment. . . . As for Boards of Revenue and Lieutenant-Governors who occasionally come sweeping over the country . . . they are but an occasional nightmare ; while the Governor-General is a mere shadow in the background of thought, half-blended with ‘ John Company Bahadur,’ and other mists of the dawn.”

Though that was written more than thirty years ago, it is still, in a large measure, true, and it explains, perhaps,

why it is so hard to get information in India. People would be quick enough to warn the Collector of anything that threatened danger to himself personally, or of any danger that threatened harm to themselves personally or to their own particular circle. But danger to the State is not a conception they can understand; and it leaves them indifferent.

Mr. Srinivasa Rao does not agree with the view that sedition arose from the sluggishness of the Government in granting reforms. On the contrary, he holds that the Government prepared the ground for it many years ago, when they directed education into the wrong channels, and that since then it is the English reformers who have encouraged its growth by their misguided enthusiasm for a democratic form of government. He says:

“There were two ways of giving effect to the Queen’s Proclamation of 1858, and they depend each upon the respective ideal to be arrived at by Government. It was open at first either to have the ideal of a limited monarchy with a Council of chosen men from the people to help the Government, or to have the ideal of self-government on the lines of Colonial government. The two are radically different, and would be governed by different principles of work. The former would be suited to the genius and traditions of the people of India, and would be essentially monarchical, while the latter would be opposed to the Indian traditions and genius, and require to be worked on Western lines of democracy.”

The great initial blunder he holds to have been the choosing of the democratic ideal, and the evil effects of this mistake were intensified because—

“England did not consider beforehand the social and religious conditions of India, and how far they should be changed in order to afford a basis for democracy. The democratic experiment has gone on

steadily from the time of the local self-government scheme of Lord Ripon, yet the British Government never cared during all this time to study the social and religious side of Indian life. . . . The people developed ideals and aspirations suited to the democratic form . . . without realizing the necessity for creating the conditions necessary for it."

The results of erecting a democratic building on soil unfitted for it we see to-day in the "Sedition Movement."

There might be something to criticize in the historical presentment of this view, for at first, at any rate, the Government proceeded on the "limited monarchy" lines, and the first Legislative Council might well be considered a "Council of men chosen to help the Government"; but we fear that for practical purposes our author's thesis seems to be correct, except in so far as he speaks of the educated classes as "the people." This is clearly an accidental slip, for all through he has been insisting on the point that the instinct of the people—using that term as meaning the mass of the population—is monarchical. It is a severe indictment of our government of India, but it would take up too much space to show how he supports it.

We have already seen that Mr. Srinivasa Rao advocates fighting sedition on Oriental lines; and his views receive a certain amount of support from the comparative freedom of Native States from the worst effects of that movement. But I cannot agree with him that those States are under any delusion as to the possibility of its being confined to British India. Sir Valentine Chirol has pointed out that "the principle of authority cannot be attacked in British India without suffering diminution in the Native States," and that some of the native Princes "showed a much earlier and livelier appreciation of the subversive tendencies of Indian unrest than those responsible for the governance of British India, and took earlier and more effective steps to counteract them." He quotes *inter alios* the Rajah of Devas as saying :

"It is a well-known fact that the endeavours of the seditious party are directed not only against the paramount power, but against all constituted forms of government in India through an absolutely misunderstood sense of 'patriotism' and through an attachment to the popular idea of 'government by the people,' when every level-headed Indian must admit that India generally has not in any way shown its fitness for a popular Government" ("Indian Unrest," p. 192).

And the Nizam of Hyderabad writes :

"Once the forces of lawlessness and disorder are let loose there is no knowing where they will stop. . . . But given time and opportunity there exists the danger of this small minority spreading its tentacles all over the country and inoculating with its poisonous doctrines the classes and masses hitherto untouched by the seditious movement" (*Ibid.*, p. 191).

The Gaekwar of Baroda may be quoted as differing (on paper) from the views of his brother Princes, but we may be sure that if his theories led to any trouble in his State his practice in dealing with it would in no way differ from theirs.

Mr. Srinivasa Rao does not "despair of the republic"; he sees that at the core the body politic is sound, but he also sees very clearly the dangers ahead. The pace is too hot for health. His hero would be that Roman General who *cunctando restituit rem* rather than the impetuous Hotspur of latter-day politics. He follows not Gokhale, but Ranade, who said: "It is not the privileges which others give us that will save India. It is the development of our own life and living in the right direction that will save India." Compare this with that saying of Arabindo Ghose which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald quotes with seeming approval: "It is not appointments we want, but the right to make appointments," and we see how wide a gulf separates the social from the political reformer in India.

"The life within us," continues Mr. Srinivasa Rao, developing Ranade's idea, "the life of our very homes, in short, our domestic social life, has to be the starting-point of the great reformation that is to save India." He might perhaps agree with Sir Roland Wilson that the time is ripe, or nearly so, for a new departure in the direction of national unity; he would not agree that it was ripe for a departure in that of self-government; he would argue that, as national unity must remain "the baseless fabric of a vision" until its foundations are well and truly laid in Social reform, the "new departure" must first be in the direction of that reform, then national unity will follow, and, perhaps then, even self-government.

"Character-building is the immediate problem before Indians," but before starting on that edifice they must abandon political agitation and work hard at social and religious reform. He quotes Japan as an instance of a nation setting its house in order as a first step to moral and material and political progress. In this connection he quotes the following "stupefying statistics" from the Indian census of 1901:

"121,500 married boys, and 243,000 married girls, whose age was under five; between the ages of five and ten the figures are 760,000 boys and 2,030,000 girls; between ten and fifteen, 2,540,000 and 6,585,000. Widowed persons under twenty years of age numbered 1,277,000, of whom 914,000 were females; of that total number of widowed persons 37,000 boys and 96,000 girls were between five and ten; 113,000 boys and 296,000 girls were between ten and fifteen years of age."

It must be remembered that Indian widows do not, as a general rule, marry again. Truly, there is ample scope here for social reformation! I think it advisable to supplement these figures with some statistics of education, as a contrast and a lesson:

According to the latest statistical abstract the number of male and female scholars in public and private institutions in British India was 5,383,000 and 197,000 respectively, out of totals of (roughly) 118,000,000 and 114,000,000; and the total number of graduates and undergraduates for the past ten years was 89,000.

I maintain that these figures prove on what a flimsy basis rests the agitation for political reform, and Mr. Srinivasa Rao also holds that until social reform has made great strides it is dangerous to press for political reform. He admits that the former will take a very long time, and, meanwhile, he says the Government must administer the country on the moderate lines of a limited monarchy. He claims that "it is to that that all changes and struggles—social, religious, and political—are in all probability veering round to-day in India." Superficial symptoms hardly point to the truth of this diagnosis, but Mr. Srinivasa Rao looks deeper under the surface.

The discussions on government are interesting and suggestive; they are made from the conservative point of view of a man who prefers to build up on Indian traditional lines rather than on Western experiments. Take "caste" for example; he sees that rigid caste laws are bad, but he states the problem as being not the destruction of a system which contains a great deal of good, but as "how to minimize or wipe out its objectionable and unprogressive features." The central principle he would have the Government work on is to look on the people just as an Indian monarch with his Indian Council would look upon India and Indian interests. These should weigh with the Government, not merely as the first and foremost, but as the only ones it is called on to defend. This is obviously too parochial an outlook. Imperial interests cannot be disregarded; India is one of a large family, and the interests of the whole family must be considered; they cannot be

sacrificed to those of individual members of it. India enjoys to the full the benefits of the Imperial connection, and she must be willing to make some sacrifice of non-essentials in return for it; otherwise she would be laying herself open to our author's own criticism of the divisions in India that they "make no sacrifice to the idea of nationalism" —for what is "Imperialism" but a larger nationalism?

Mr. Alfred, in his remarks on the above programme, is made to lay too much stress on the "physical force" doctrine. He says that where national interests clash the weakest goes to the wall; that as England is in India by right of conquest, just like any other conquerors before our rule, she will continue to act as if she still held India by the sword. This is, of course, to ignore the essential difference between the object of the English dominion and that of the older conquerors, and we suspect it is only "a man-of-straw argument" set up for Mr. Srinivasa Rao to knock down, which he does effectively, though he takes some time to do it.

Meanwhile, he has gone off the line of character-building and social reform; but political reform is his King Charles's head.

Undoubtedly one of the great engines for aiding in the development of character and public opinion is the Press, and Mr. Srinivasa Rao has many hard things to say about Indian papers. He blames them for their attitude of persistent opposition to the Government, and also for the failure of even the most respectable of them to condemn whole-heartedly the seditious movement. The Indian Press has no principles. It panders to personalities.

"The Indian Press generally has come to think its function is to play the rôle of opposition to the Government, *and it is found to pay.*" (The italics are mine.) "The politicians who differ from the Press get short shrift. Indian politics have been all along politics of the purely personal type. It is in the blood

of the people. In the Native States 'politics' is simply making and unmaking the men in power even to this day. During the pre-British days it was making or unmaking of the men in power or of the Government of the day. It was done, not by the Press, but by the old, old Oriental weapon of party spirit and intrigue."

Intrigue, of course, was not the only weapon; the dagger was also a favourite. Nowadays the stiletto has been changed for the "stylo," but the spirit remains. Mr. Srinivasa Rao does not love the Indian editors, but when he blames them for being "men of class prejudices and sect sympathies" and "provincial patriotism," and for "carrying their own personal politics into their papers," he is, after all, only blaming them for being editors. We must presume they give the public what it wants. In this connection I may recall that some few years ago the leading Indian paper in Madras adopted a more reasonable tone in its criticisms of the Government, and tried to restrain the extremists; but the change of attitude was displeasing to its readers, and it was compelled by the *force majeure* of a diminishing subscription list to revert to its former practices. That there is very much room for improvement in the Indian Press is patent to all, but I hold that public opinion is stronger than the Press, and until the public character has been raised it is futile to expect any striking improvement in its Press organs.

Mr. Srinivasa Rao lays much stress on the extreme importance of closer social relations between the Indians and the English, and he maintains, quite rightly, that the advantage would be mutual. He sees much to deplore in the attitude of English people to the natives of the country, but, unlike recent English writers, he does not gloat—there is no other word for it—over occasional instances of bad manners on our part. He sees that they are inevitable in the present condition of social life in India.

Nor does he lay all the blame of "aloofness" on the English. He quotes in support of his views the words of Mrs. Tyabji, wife of the late distinguished Judge of the Bombay High Court :

"We complain that Europeans keep aloof from us, but that is largely our fault. I ask you how many among ourselves, Hindus, Mussalmans, or Parsees, want to meet together? Is it pride or reserve that keeps us apart? Is it not rather a difference in manners, habits, education, dress, language and religion? Let us begin by union among ourselves."

He thinks the first and most important step towards social intercourse is the abandonment of the present political strife. He is severe on Mr. Gokhale and his school, who hold that political equality must precede social equality. It is somewhat startling, however, to find that a paper with the title of *The Indian Social Reformer* should adopt this view. Our author quotes the following words from it :

"Experience shows that a placid political atmosphere is most favourable to social and moral progress. It is this fact which compels the social reformer, in spite of himself, to intervene in political discussions with the object, if possible, of bringing about a better understanding between the people and the administration."

It would be hard to crowd into so few words a greater number of fallacies. The first sentence is historically untrue, and, even if it were true, the Indian political party is not adopting very promising methods to create a placid political atmosphere. Mr. Srinivasa Rao has many suggestions to make as to the best method of bridging the social gulf, among which there is the good one of promoting freer club intercourse between English and Indians. That with goodwill on both sides this could be done, admits of little doubt, and it is to be hoped that persevering efforts will be made in this direction. It is, however, a thorny

subject, not altogether suited for discussion in this paper. He shows, moreover, that the present position of Indian women, which is the great bar to free social intercourse, is not the position they occupied in the ancient Aryan days, and he remarks that "the Western social life is the direct antithesis of *modern India*, mark you, not of *ancient India*, in these respects." Let the Indians set their own house in order first, and then the path towards equality of every kind between Britons and Indians will be smoothed—that is his conclusion.

He has his own ideas about the improvement of the administration. It is too Western, too insistent on efficiency, whereas it should be more Oriental and turn a kindlier eye on Indian deficiencies; it should invite a far closer co-operation between the rulers and the ruled. This is a very difficult subject. Undoubtedly the Oriental is not in sympathy with our strict, even stern, ideas of efficiency. His is a happy-go-lucky sort of character, and Tennyson's words do not apply to him, "We needs must love the highest when we see it."

There is perhaps little doubt that we have gone too fast for them. Sir Auckland Colvin has emphasized the danger of our doing in Egypt what we have done in India, namely, administering the country on lines far beyond the people's understanding and sympathy. "Thorough" is a good motto, but mere thoroughness in administration may be too dearly bought, and many think India is paying too high a price for it, not in rupees but in the sacrifice of something far more valuable, namely, the peace and good-will between herself and England. That there is a great danger both to the country and the government in a relaxing of the bonds of administrative efficiency none will deny, but it should be possible to get far nearer the golden mean than we are now, and very many close observers of the Indian administration will agree with our author that we should do all we legitimately can to strengthen the idea of personal rule. We have by our system of appeals increasingly weakened that

idea. We have taken away far too much of the authority and influence of the "man on the spot," be he English or Indian, and in my firm opinion our first step should be to put him back in his former position, which, while enormously strengthening not only his own powers for good, also and thereby would strengthen the Government he serves.

The objects we strive for and which we call by the all-embracing name of Progress are not always best attained by going forward. Their pursuit is often facilitated by "marking time," even by retracing one's footsteps and making a fresh start in a new direction. It is possible for a government to "over-run the scent," and then its best course is to "cast back." It requires much moral courage to do this, but it will be a bad day for India when our statesmen fail in that most necessary of virtues. The decision as to whether we are to call a halt or continue to advance must be based on a thorough perception of existing conditions, the fruit not of superficial study but of life-long experience. A one-sided examination of the ground is as disastrous in political as in military operations, and nothing but failure can be the fate of anyone who thinks a cold-weather-glance at Indian matters is a sufficient equipment for his theories. More than two thousand years ago Cicero used words which are as true now as they were then, and which have a very close application to this subject: "A careful doctor, before attempting to prescribe for a patient, must make himself acquainted not only with the nature of the disease of the man he desires to cure, but also with his manner of life and his constitution." We cannot look upon the itinerant member of Parliament as *medicus diligens*, rather is he what Cicero might have called *medicus anserinus*, or a quack doctor. His diagnosis will surely be incorrect, and his prescription perilous.

Not two generations have passed since the Queen's Proclamation infused a new spirit into the government of our great Dependency. India is as yet a mere child, just learning to walk. If a child attempts too soon to walk it falls, but

does not hurt itself. It is otherwise with a people, and Mr. Srinivasa Rao is entirely right when he insists that for many years to come India must lean on England's hand, and that her only hope of real progress is under England's leadership and help.

"Nil desperandum Teucro duce et auspice Teucro!"

By writing and publishing this book, Mr. Srinivasa Rao has done a very good work both for India and England, for which he deserves to be warmly commended. We hope that it will encourage the large number of Indians who hold the same views as he does to come forward and help openly, not only against the forces of sedition, but also against the more insidious and perhaps more dangerous forces of the modern political movement. And we keenly appreciate the generous manner in which he repeatedly refers to England's work in India, no less than his magnanimous reticence towards the occasional faults and failings of her agents there. *O ! si sic omnes !* Far more than of Ancient Rome can it be said of England :

*"Hæc est, in gremium Victos quæ sola recepit,
Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit,
Matris, non dominæ, ritu ; civesque vocavit,
Quos domuit, nexuque pio longinqua revinxit !"*

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT AND VILLAGE PROPRIETORSHIP IN BENGAL.

BY H. R. PERROTT.

"Cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood, or who first cleared and tilled it, and the antelope of the first hunter who mortally wounded it."—MANU.

THERE is a large mass of evidence to support the fact, now generally accepted, that the Indian cultivator is the original proprietor of the Indian soil. He was certainly so regarded by the early Moghuls, who, it appears, tumbled readily to the Hindu conceptions of land tenure, and continued, so far as was practicable, existing Hindu methods. The original right of the sovereign did not appertain to the soil itself—in other words, he was not the ultimate proprietor in the feudal sense—but was confined to a share, well defined by custom, in the produce of the soil. In the natural evolution of economic things this right in time assumed the form of a right to take, in lieu of a share of the produce, an amount in cash assessed on each holding under cultivation according to recognized local rates. The title of the cultivating proprietor probably dates back to the origin of the village community. We find it still clearly recognized in the days of Raja Todar Mal, the able Finance Minister of the Emperor Akbar,

whose settlement went down, through the *samindars*,* to the holding of the *raiya*.† In his days a clear record of rights was kept by village officers directly responsible to Government. The *samindar*, like his Hindu predecessor, the *choudhri*, was an agent of Government entrusted with the collection of the revenue and also with certain administrative powers. His office descended by a custom of primogeniture in contradistinction to the manner in which real property under both Hindu and Muhammadan Law is made to devolve. His emolument was, in theory, defined from early Moghul times at one tenth of the revenues which passed through his hands. But from Akbar and Todar Mal to Lord Cornwallis is a far cry, and, in Bengal, there was much change for the worse in evidence in the interval, under a series of corrupt or incompetent Viceroyes. As in the case of all Asiatic systems, the prestige and efficiency of the Moghul Government waxed and waned with the personal characteristics and natural endowments of the rulers. We inherited the revenue system as worked by the worst of the Muslim Governors, Qásim Ali Khán. Previous to his time the *samindars* had been largely dispossessed by Jáfar Khán, and a sweeping reform attempted by farming out the revenues with *Amils*. These were contractors pure and simple with no semblance of hereditary right. Perhaps this act affords the most conclusive circumstantial evidence of the nature of the *samindari* office. The reform was presumably effected with the full approval of the Emperor Aurangzeb. There is nothing on record to show that any claim of proprietorship was asserted on behalf of the *samindars*, and the act in itself is destructive of the idea that such a claim could have been recognized. The collecting agency, as inherited

* *Zamindar*: a Persian word implying literally the person who holds land. The very meaning of the term was undergoing transition at the time of which we are speaking. The nature of this transition is explained in the text.

† *Raiyat*: cultivator; the person who actually cultivates the land either himself or with the help of servants.

by the British from the Moghuls, consisted of a great mass of contractors like these *Amils*, with a sprinkling of the older *samindari* families, and, in the background, a discontented, and therefore obstructive, class, comprised of the dispossessed and excluded *samindars*, many of whom still possessed great personal influence.

Our direct control of the revenues dates from the year 1772, when, under instructions from the Court of Directors, Hastings proceeded from Madras to Calcutta to obey the memorable behest to "stand forth as *Diwan*."* The earliest policy of *laissez faire* was dictated by necessity rather than by choice. When the Company acquired the *Diwani*† in 1765 its officers were too few and too ill-equipped in administrative experience to enable Clive to deal adequately with the novel situation. Moreover the susceptibilities of the French had to be considered. Thus, prior to the period of direct control, the only step taken was the appointment of supervisors, who were to inspect the native system and acquire as much information as possible. This was in 1769. In 1772, Hastings came to the Governor-Generalship and set himself wholeheartedly to the solution of the difficult problem. His first step was to inaugurate a change in the *cadre* of the Company's service. The Company had to be transformed from an exclusively trading concern to a partially administrative body.

While the necessary changes in *cadre* were in progress, a farming settlement by *Perganas*‡ for five years was adopted as a temporary makeshift. The supervisors gave place to collectors, with whom were associated Indian

* *Diwan*: this was the official designation of the officer charged with the control of the Civil and Revenue Administration of a Province.

† The *Diwani* grant is usually stated as comprising the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; but Orissa must not be confounded with the present division bearing that name. By "Orissa" was meant a portion of the present districts of Midnapur and Hugli, in Bengal.

‡ The *Pergana* was the original revenue unit farmed out to a single individual.

Diwans, the control and supervision being vested in Revenue Councils stationed at Murshidabad and Patna. The surviving *zamindars* were not to be displaced, but they often refused to accept settlement, and so new farmers were freely introduced.

The system proved a great failure, owing chiefly to the total dislocation of the old local revenue machinery. The ancient Hindu village system, which in other parts of India had better survived the pressure of invasion, had become in Bengal, under a succession of bad or feeble rulers, a mere parody of its former self. The sense of cultivating proprietorship inherent in that system seems to have become atrophied under the extortions and exactions to which it was subjected by successive generations of unscrupulous *zamindars* and renters; so that it is not surprising that the cardinal fact on which all reform should have turned, escaped the notice of officers expressly instructed to abstain from "all odious scrutiny" on the ground that "temporary loss will be cheerfully submitted to, in the hope of future profit from a light assessment."*

The village offices had been reduced to a farce, and their incumbents, where they still existed, were completely under the thumb of the *zamindars*. The contract system, so freely resorted to since the time of Jáfár Khán, had largely broken down under the stress of the terrible famine of 1770.† There was no one to plead the cause of the poor cultivator—the real proprietor of the soil—and confusion was rendered worse confounded by reason of the fact that those who could have given useful help and advice found it to their interests to remain silent.

Hardly had the new collectors been appointed, when the Court of Directors decided to withdraw them from the districts and revert to the agency of the *ámil*, the local native "collector" of the system of Jáfár Khán. A principle

* The words are those of Lord Cornwallis himself.

† In which, according to Mr. Shore's computation, at least one-fifth of the inhabitants of Bengal perished.

of devolution in control was invoked, and councils were established in Murshidabad, Patna, Dacca, Burdwan, and Dinajpur, with a central Revenue Committee at Calcutta.

Things, however, went from bad to worse. In the words of Lord Cornwallis himself, in a letter addressed to the Court of Directors: "The Nabob Alliverdy Khan made some innovations in the moderate demands of the Court of Dhelly. Destiny left to Cossim Aly to complete the ruin which preceding Viceroys had commenced. The English administration which succeeded shed no ray of amelioration over the gloomy aspect of affairs. Dispossession, monopoly, and mutability, mark with calamitous inefficacy each modification of the system."

On the expiry of the five years' settlement a policy of marking time with annual settlements was resorted to. This went on from 1777 to 1789. In the year 1781 the Provincial Revenue Councils were abolished, and the general control vested in a Central Committee at Calcutta. Lord Cornwallis arrived in India in 1786, and, in the same ship, came Mr. John Shore (afterwards Sir John Shore, and, later, Lord Teignmouth). A Board of Revenue was evolved out of the Central Committee, with Mr. Shore as its first president, and the agency of the collectors was for a second time invoked.

Previous to this, however, Parliament had passed in 1784 Act 24 George III., cap. 25, outlining the principles in accordance with which a decennial settlement was to be concluded with the *zamindars*. The actual rules for this settlement were not promulgated till 1789, 1790, and 1791. It was this settlement which, with the approval of the Court of Directors, was finally declared permanent by Lord Cornwallis in the celebrated Regulation I. of 1793. The regulations bearing on the subject have to be taken together as a single piece of legislation.* As a matter of fact the main

* The principal regulations are those of September 18, 1789, November 25, 1789, February 19, 1790, November 23, 1791, and May 1, 1793.

regulation is that known as Regulation VIII. of May 1, 1793, which modifies and enlarges the previous regulations of 1789, 1790, and 1791.

It is to be regretted that the several regulations dealing with the settlements are, in many respects, vague and unsatisfactory as legislative enactments. They are lacking in clear definition, and considerable doubt has arisen with regard to the use of vernacular terms. They have to be interpreted in the light of the correspondence and discussions which led up to them. Some useful retrospective criticism is to be found in the celebrated Fifth Report of 1812 with its appendices. Perhaps the least satisfactory feature of the regulations is the vagueness with which the rights of the cultivator are defined.

But it is abundantly clear that Lord Cornwallis was actuated by the best of intentions towards the cultivator. He was anxious to do justice to the *raiyat* while conferring a favour on the *zamindar*. In fact, he hoped by adopting the latter course to bring prosperity indirectly to the door of the cultivator. Every line of his letter to the Court of Directors embodying his final proposals is instinct with the desire to bring about lasting amelioration in the affairs of both landholder and cultivator. It is enacted that the existing rents are not to be raised. But what are the existing rents? The only answer is that they are to be specified in the *pattas** which the *zamindars* are to give before the end of the local year 1198 (1791). Lord Cornwallis left this to the *zamindars*. He reposed so much trust in their sense of gratitude and fair-mindedness that he did not think it necessary to formulate any clearer provisions to ascertain the actual rents to be paid in perpetuity by the *raiyats*. He was issuing a very large cheque on the bank of human nature. He was led to regard the permanent settlement of the *zamindari* revenues as a panacea for all ills, social and political.

Let us now see what is contained in this great remedial

* Patta, lease.

measure. There are three main principles involved in the permanent settlement of Bengal :

- (a) The *zamindars* are recognized as proprietors, and settlement is to be made with them.
- (b) The revenue payable by them is fixed for each estate for ever.
- (c) The rates of rent payable by the cultivators are fixed for ever at the *Pargana* rates, which appertained in 1791 plus all *abwabs** in existence at that time.

There can be no question that it is the feature of permanency in respect of the revenue that has occupied popular attention to the total or partial exclusion of the other features of the settlement. As this is the most prominent and least vague feature of the settlement, it is only natural that to it should be directed the keenest criticism. The element of fixity was ostensibly introduced with the idea of reassuring the *zamindar* and inducing in him the fullest measure of confidence in the fairness and generosity of Government. But it is noteworthy that not a single argument adduced by Lord Cornwallis in favour of a *permanent* settlement would not apply with equal force to a settlement for a reasonable term of years with clearly recognized principles of enhancement or reduction at the end of the term. It is clear that, in the absence of any means of forecasting the fluctuations in general prices or other secular, economic, or monetary changes, the advantages that might reasonably be expected to accrue to the *zamindars*, as a class, by lengthening the term of settlement, were subject to the principle of diminishing returns. For example, the advantages offered by a forty years' settlement over those offered by a thirty years' settlement are distinctly less than they

* The Arabic plural of *bab* ; the word literally means headings. In revenue parlance it gradually came to have a singular signification, and to mean any demand over and above the *asl*, or original rate fixed at the time of Todar Mal. Successive *abwabs* were demanded on various pretexts from time to time, and bore some recognised proportion to the *asl*.

would be if the terms were reduced to thirty and twenty years respectively. Every increase in the term offers less and less prospective advantage. It may be, in fact, that after a certain point is reached, the prospective advantage from a longer term is simply nil. The writer imagines that, even at the present day, in several of the South American Republics a lease of Government land for one hundred years would not be regarded as more valuable than a lease of the same land for fifty years, and the idea of a lease in perpetuity would be ridiculed. The point is forcibly brought out in "Land Systems of British India." "Does any landholder really believe in or realize *permanency*? For example, will anyone seriously contend that, looking at all the ups and downs of history, a *zamindar* in 1793 *realized* that the Government would last for ever, or even for a long period of years?"*

Additional force is lent to these remarks if we reflect that, at the time the permanent settlement was introduced, the Mahratta was knocking at the land gate, and the French had still to be beaten on the sea. Moreover, the tenure of political sovereignty by an erstwhile mercantile company must have appeared to all thoughtful persons fraught with great risks and uncertainty.

It has sometimes been represented that Lord Cornwallis confounded the actual status of the *zamindar* with proprietorship in the English sense. There can be no doubt that, in case of certain of the older families, enjoying ancient and undefined prescriptive rights and privileges descending by custom of primogeniture, there were present many elements easily confoundable with proprietorship in the English sense. It does not, however, appear, on closer scrutiny, that Lord Cornwallis was in any way misled by such cases of chance resemblance. Everything points to the conclusion that he was fully alive to the special incidents of the proprietorship he was conferring and its

* Baden Powell, "Land Systems of British India," book i., chap. v., p. 347, 1892 edit.

limitations. It was not the rights of the cultivator, but the rights of Government that were to be transferred to the *samindars*. Under the Moghul Government the defaulting *samindar* could be imprisoned, or even subjected to *peine forte et dure*. All that was to be altered. In future the estate would be sold for default, or such part of it as was necessary to cover the default. In the irony of circumstances, as the event turned out, many of the landholders preferred the rougher to the milder method.

A closer scrutiny of the limitations imposed on *samindari* proprietorship brings us as at once to the consideration of that part of the Settlement affecting the cultivator and his rights. So far has practice been allowed to depart from theory, that it has often escaped the notice even of those conversant with the working of the Bengal land system that a permanent fixing of the *raiyat's* rent is as much a feature of the Permanent Settlement, as the fixing of the revenue payable by the *samindar*.

Mr. Baden Powell, in his "Land Systems of British India,"* states as his opinion that "Dr. Field has fully disposed of the argument that *raiyats'* rents were intended to be fixed for all time." But a review of Dr. Field's arguments will disclose the fact that he has left his opponent's main stronghold unassailed. He has merely brought his batteries to bear upon a few outworks, and has not even succeeded in demolishing them. He is mainly concerned in attempting to show that, because the provisions of the Permanent Settlement, as actually worked by subsequent Governments, were interpreted in favour of liberal enhancement, therefore it was never the intention of Lord Cornwallis to provide for a permanent settlement of those rents. What, with all due respect to the opinion of so eminent an authority, Dr. Field appears to have entirely overlooked, is that it is an unfair and illogical method to judge the spirit and intention of legislation either by its actual observed effects, or by the efficacy of

* Vol. i., book ii., chap. iv., p. 624.

the means devised to give effect to it. It is matter of common experience with all who have had any practical administrative experience in India, that legislative schemes conceived with the best intentions in the world not only often fail of their objects, but sometimes have effects diametrically the opposite of those they are intended to promote.

Dr. Field argues that, as Governments are corporations continuous in policy, and that as the Indian Government, in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, not only freely allowed the raising of rents, but, in its capacity of landlord, itself was a most active enhancer of rents on the estates in its charge, therefore it could not have been the intention of Lord Cornwallis to prevent the *zamindars* from enhancing rents. Surely this is a fallacious argument. Our case is that the provisions of Regulation VIII. of 1793, appertaining to the cultivators' rents, were misunderstood at the outset, and, even if they were understood by some during the two or three years succeeding the Settlement, which is open to doubt, still it was found impossible to act upon them. One reason that things fell out in this way was that the *raiyats*, as foreseen by Mr. Shore, strenuously refused to accept *pattas*. But, apart from the view that discontinuity in policy may be the result of misconception, it is surely fallacious to argue that, because continuity in policy is a rule of Governments, therefore, in a particular case, there cannot have been discontinuity. We are, indeed, now familiar with the phenomenon of radical changes of policy ensuing on changes in the personnel of the rulers. In fact, in the light of more recent experience, the general principle from which Dr. Field argues appears to be of doubtful application.

The main arguments, which Dr. Field leaves almost unimpugned, in favour of the view that it was the intention of the legislature of 1793 to provide for a permanent settlement of the *raiyats'* rents, are these :

1. That the actual language of the Regulations conveys this meaning and can bear no other meaning :

2. That it is to be inferred from the tenor of the Minutes of Mr. Shore and Lord Cornwallis.

The *zamindars* are strictly enjoined to refrain from the imposition of fresh *abwabs*. They are further to consolidate the existing *abwabs* (imposed, as far as we can see, in fixed proportions to the *asl*, and largely on the score of a rise in prices), with the *asl* (*i.e.*, the original rent fixed according to *Pergana* rates by Todar Mal), into a single sum to be specified in a *patta* (form of lease) to be granted to the *raiyat* before the end of the Bengal year 1198 in Bengal, or the Fasli and Vilaiyeti year 1198 in Behar and Orissa. And let us see the penalty for non-compliance. If the *zamindars* fail to deliver the *patta* as above, then no other arrangements with the *raiyat* will be held valid, and any suit for rent founded on such engagements will be non-suited with costs. These provisions show conclusively that the idea was that the *raiyats*' rents as well as the *zamindars*' revenue were to be fixed once for all, for there was hitherto no known method of enhancement except the imposition of fresh *abwabs*. We know that this was the prevalent mode of enhancement, and there is absolutely no evidence to show that there was any other mode. To all intents and purposes *abwab* meant enhancement and enhancement meant *abwab*. It is true that there is some doubt as to the meaning of the *asl*. It may be, indeed, as Mr. Shore appears to have thought, that the *asl* of Todar Mal had been at various times previously consolidated with the *abwabs* to form a new *asl*. It is even possible, as Mr. Shore suggests, that the original *asl* had, in some districts, to be discounted on account of the weight of *abwabs*. This is, however, beside the point. The meaning of the Regulation is obviously that the recognized *asl* is to be consolidated with the recognized *abwabs*, so as to form a rent which shall not be enhanced in future. Dr. Field contends that what Government really conferred on the *zamindars* was

its own right to an indefinite thing—viz., the value of a certain proportion of the produce. Presumably what Dr. Field means is that the *samindars* are to be free to avail themselves of the privilege of enhancing the rents proportionately to a rise in prices. But the one and only method employed by the *samindars* to avail themselves of the advantages of a rise in prices had been the imposition of *abwabs* upon the original cash rates fixed by Todar Mal. And this was the method which was now prohibited under penalty, fresh cash rates being fixed on the basis of the *asl* and *abwabs* imposed up to date, now, for the first time, accorded regular legal recognition. It is difficult, then, to follow Dr. Field when he asserts that Government was making over indefinite rights to the *samindars*. It is clear that, by his prohibition against the imposition of further *abwabs*, Lord Cornwallis intended that no further enhancement of rent was to take place, and that he believed in the possibility of consolidating the *asl* and *abwabs* in the manner enjoined on the *samindars* in Regulation VIII. of 1793. We know that the policy failed, but that does not prove anything as regards the intention of Lord Cornwallis.

There is another argument adduced by Dr. Field which is worthy of notice in the present connection. We have seen that the means by which Lord Cornwallis sought to arrive at a permanent settlement of the cultivators' rents, was by enforcing on the *samindars* the duty of granting *pattas* to the *raiyats* within a stated period. Nothing was said in Regulation VIII. about the term for which *pattas* were to be valid, but in Regulation XLIV. of 1793, one of the same batch of Regulations, it was enacted that no *patta* was to be granted for a longer term than ten years. Dr. Field argues that this restriction obviously left it open to the *samindar* to enhance the *raiyat's* rent on the expiry of the ten years' term. This conclusion, however, appears quite incompatible with the preamble and text of Regulation XLIV. The preamble runs as follows: "It is to be apprehended that many proprietors, either from improvid-

ence, ignorance, or with a view to raise money, or from other causes or motives, may be induced to dispose of dependent *talooks** to be held at a reduced *jumma*† or fix the *jumma* of the dependent *talooks* now existing in their respective estates at an under-rate, or let lands in farm or grant *pottahs* for the cultivation of land at a reduced rent for a long term or in perpetuity, etc." It is quite clear from this preamble that the whole object of the regulation is to prevent the leasing of *taluks* or the letting of lands for long terms at inadequate rates so as to endanger the security of the land revenue. Section II. of the Regulation provides for the changing of the terms of the engagement, lease, or *patta*, upon the expiry of the ten years' period, but it is abundantly clear from Section V. that, so far as the *raiyat* is concerned, no increase of his rent above *Pargana* rates is contemplated. But the bottom is finally knocked out of Dr. Field's argument by a reference to Regulation IV. of 1794, which enacts that disputed rates are to be decided by the Civil Court according to the rates established in the *Pargana* for lands of the same description and quality as those respecting which the dispute had arisen. This was to apply to the successive renewals of *pattas* as well as to the *patta* to which the *raiyats* were entitled in the first instance. In other words, *raiyats* were entitled to have their *pattas* renewed at the established rates in the same manner as they were originally entitled to receive *pattas*. There was thus no question of raising the rates above the *Pargana* rates on the expiry of a ten years' lease, though rents might be enhanced up to those rates, if they

* *Talook* (*taluk*) is a term very difficult of precise definition. It may be taken for present purposes as implying the holding of a tenure holder who, at the time of the Permanent Settlement, could not be accorded the full status of a *zamindar*, though an independent *talukdar* was practically indistinguishable from a *zamindar*. He paid his revenue direct to Government. The dependent *talukdar* pays his revenue through the *zamindar*.

† The *jumma* (*jama*) is the total rent payable for an estate, tenure, or tenancy.

had been less, as would be the case where new lands had been recently cleared and cultivated.

Let us next see the bearing of the Minutes on the question at issue. There are one or two points which stand forth prominently in support of our present contention.

In his Minute of February 3, 1790, Lord Cornwallis says: "In order to simplify the demand of the landholder upon the *ryots*, or cultivator of the soil, we must begin with fixing the demand of government upon the former. This done, I have little doubt but that the landholders will without difficulty be made to grant *pottahs* to the *ryots* upon the principles proposed by Mr. Shore in his propositions for the Bengal Settlement."

Now what were these principles proposed by Mr. Shore? So far as the *raiyats'* part of the Settlement is concerned, Mr. Shore's Minutes contain mainly a statement of the difficulties of the question. Once only does he commit himself to a practical suggestion, and that is in § 410 of his Minute of June, 1789: "Mr. Francis proposed that it should be made an indispensable 'Condition with the *zamindar* that, in the course of a stated time, he shall grant new *pottas* to his tenants, either on the same footing with his own quit rents; that is, so long as the *zamindar's* quit rent remains the same, or for a term of years, as they may agree.' The former is the custom of the country. This will become a new *assil jumma* for each *ryot*, and ought to be as sacred as the *zamindar's* quit rent. The *puttah* should be expressed in the simplest terms possible, without a single *abwab* or *muthote*,* so much *p'beḡa* † of land which he cultivates, varying only according to the articles of produce, or quality of the soil." A careful perusal of Mr. Shore's Minutes will show that he makes absolutely no other recommendation or proposal on the subject. When, then, Lord Cornwallis proposes to act on the principles

* Muthote is a term locally used for *abwab*.

† Bega, beegha (bigha), is the unit of area for local measurement like the English acre. It varies from one district to another.

proposed by Mr. Shore, it must be to this one and only proposal of Mr. Shore's that he refers. Surely, if any doubt remain as to the actual meaning to be assigned to the wording of the Regulations, this evidence, drawn from the discussions which preceded the final settlement, suffices to clear it up once for all. A new *asl jama* (Shore's *assil jumma*) is to be made for each *raiyat*, and that is to be as sacred as the *zamindar's* quit rent. It is difficult to see how anyone can, in face of such clear evidence, still contend that enhancement of rent was contemplated.

But Dr. Field argues that the prohibition against further *abwabs* does not amount to a prohibition against further enhancement. Now we shall show that both Mr. Shore and Lord Cornwallis were of the opposite opinion, although Dr. Field claims Lord Cornwallis in support of his view. Mr. Shore, in his Minute of December 8, 1789, says: "The idea of the imposition of taxes, by a landlord upon his tenant, implies an inconsistency; and the prohibition in spirit is an encroachment upon proprietary right; *for it is saying to the landlord, you shall not raise the rents of your estate.*"* In reply to this Lord Cornwallis (in his Minute of February 3, 1790) says: "If Mr. Shore means that after having declared the *zamindar* proprietor of the soil, in order to be consistent we have no right to prevent his imposing new *abwabs* or taxes on the lands in cultivation, I must differ from him in opinion, unless we suppose the *ryots* to be absolute slaves of the *zamindars*. Every *beegha* of land possessed by them must have been cultivated under an expressed or implied agreement that a certain sum should be paid for each *beegha* of produce, and no more. Every *abwab*, or tax, imposed by the *zamindar* over and above that sum is not only a breach of that agreement, but a direct violation of the established laws of the country. The cultivator, therefore, has in such case an undoubted right to apply to Government for the protection of his property, and Government is at all times bound to afford him redress. I do not hesitate,

* The italics are the writer's.

therefore, to give it as my opinion that the *samindars*, neither now nor ever, could possess a right to impose taxes or *abwabs* upon *ryots*. . . . "

Further on, in the same Minute, in discussing the means left to the *samindar* of improving his estate after the prohibition of *abwabs*, Lord Cornwallis states : " The rents of an estate can only be raised by inducing the *ryots* to cultivate the more valuable articles of produce, and to clear the extensive tracts of waste land, which are to be found in almost every *samindari* in Bengal." It is clear from the context that by "the rents of an estate" Lord Cornwallis here means "the income from an estate." His meaning obviously is that, although the prohibition of *abwabs* will prevent the *samindar* from raising a higher rental from his ordinary lands under cultivation, still there are these two ways in which he will be able to improve his gross rental. The case of the clearance of waste lands is not, properly speaking, a case of enhancement at all. At any rate, it has no bearing on the question of enhancement of the rent of lands already under cultivation. As regards the inducement to be extended to *raiyats* to cultivate the more valuable articles of produce, enhancement is expressly provided for in the Regulations in cases where a custom exists to vary the rent with the species of produce grown ; and it is clearly to such cases that Lord Cornwallis is referring. It does not, therefore, appear that any argument can be based on these remarks of Lord Cornwallis to support the view that he conceived of the prohibition against *abwabs* in any other light than as an injunction on the *samindars* not to enhance rents.

We have devoted some time to the refutation of Dr. Field's views, because, as the views of an eminent authority on land tenure generally, they have gained a degree of assent, which, on closer examination, they do not appear to deserve.

But, intention apart, so far as its effects upon the *raiyat* are concerned, the legislation of Lord Cornwallis has

proved, in the event, to be little more than a series of amiable injunctions or homilies addressed to *samindars* who found it to their immediate interest to disregard them ; or shall we say a pious hope for betterment, which, in the existing order of human nature, could never be realized. The Permanent Settlement was broken forthwith by the *samindars* all along the line. Neither did they grant *pattas*, nor attend to the prohibitions against enhancement of rents, though they dropped the word *abwab* once and for all from their vocabulary. They enhanced the *raiyats'* rents in spite of all the Regulations.

Not only did the *samindars* enhance rents, but Government itself did so, in its occasional capacity of proprietor. There were many Regulations in the first part of the nineteenth century, *patta* Regulations and various Regulations dealing with distraint and eviction, legalizing the direct or indirect enhancement of rents, in violent antipathy to the spirit and intention of Lord Cornwallis's legislation. This series of legislative enactments in breach of the Permanent Settlement culminated in Act X. of 1859. That Act, borrowing the legal ideas of occupancy and non-occupancy tenancy from the North West Provinces (now United Provinces), substituted them for the ancient *de facto* division in to resident and non-resident cultivators respectively, and so altered the whole conditions of land tenure. In many respects a remedial measure, Act X. of 1859 still facilitated an indirect method of enhancement by suit of the *raiyat's* rent, and provided for the taking of *kabuliyats* (counterparts of leases) from *raiyats*. The fact is that not only have the provisions of the *raiyati* Permanent Settlement never been acted upon, but they have been superseded by one legislative enactment after another. The *zamindari* part of that Settlement has been left intact (at any rate in theory), and rights have been recognized in the *zamindars* to that unearned increment from participation in which they were expressly debarred by Regulation VIII. of 1793. The whole trend of more recent legislation

since 1886 has been to limit and define those rights to the unearned increment.

But the Permanent Settlement has been even more effectually broken by the legislature in another way. It was broken exactly 100 years after it was made, when the Indian mints in 1893 were closed to the free coinage of silver. By that change what was a silver liability has been converted into what is really a gold liability. It was as if the legislature had said to the *samindars*—hitherto your revenue has been fixed in silver, henceforth you will regard it as fixed in gold. It was obviously matter of the most vital moment to everybody concerned, and particularly to Government, whether the revenue were originally fixed in gold, or in silver, or in grain or commodities.* We have now no means of judging to what extent the importance of this question was brought home to the mind of Lord Cornwallis. In his day the position of silver in the world's markets was a particularly strong one. It was the accepted standard of value in most of the European countries and in America. England had not yet decided in favour of a single standard in gold. Moreover, the ratio of gold to silver had remained singularly steady at about 15 to 1 by weight throughout the eighteenth century. The state of the Indian currency was heterogeneous. A great mass of gold and silver coins of various weights and degrees of purity was in circulation, gold being specially in evidence in Southern India. In 1793, the year of the Permanent Settlement, the Company embarked in a much needed reform of the coinage by issuing a Regulation prohibiting in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, the currency of any kind of silver rupee other than the *sikka*† rupee bearing the im-

* The thing in which the revenue is fixed is not necessarily the thing in which it is to be paid. It might be fixed in terms of grain, and payable in rupees.

† The *sikka*, or Bengal rupee, coined by the Company previous to 1835, was valued at $\frac{1}{16}$ ths of the rupee with which we are now familiar. The revenue was in 1835 commuted at that rate. Rs. 100 *sikka* are equivalent to Rs. 106-10-8 of the present currency.

press of the nineteenth year of Shah Alam, which, since 1773, was the only rupee (with the exception of a few Arcots) coined in the Company's mint at Calcutta. It was in terms of these nineteenth year *sikka* rupees that the Settlements were concluded.

Let us now see the position of gold at this time. We have already had occasion to observe the steadiness of the ratio of gold to silver throughout the eighteenth century (a steadiness which continued throughout the first half of the nineteenth century). It does not appear that prior to the year 1766 any attempt was made to link up gold and silver permanently. In other words, gold coins circulated at their intrinsic value measured in silver, that metal being the standard of value. In the year 1766, however, the Company fixed the ratio between the two metals, and declared the gold *mohur* legal tender. The gold *mohur* of sixteen rupees was struck three years later. It never had much currency outside Calcutta and the big towns.

It should be noted, then, that at the time the Permanent Settlement was under consideration there was in Bengal itself a bimetallic system, while the ratio between the two metals had throughout the civilized world been steady for many years. In such circumstances we may rest tolerably certain that, in so far as he considered the matter at all, the difficulties that would present themselves to the mind of Lord Cornwallis in fixing the land revenue in silver rather than in gold, would appear immeasurably less than they would to anyone familiar with the history of the precious metals since 1850. It was only when, with silver falling heavily, greater and greater difficulty was experienced in meeting the home charges, that attention was drawn to the matter. When the question of the fall in exchange had finally to be faced by Lord Herschell's committee, and the Indian Mints were closed to the free coinage of silver in 1893, the rupee shortly became, in consequence of that policy, what is, to all intents and purposes, a token coin, gold being the real standard of value. The very meaning

of the rupee as a coin has thus undergone a radical change since 1893, with the incidental result that the land revenue is now fixed, though not necessarily actually paid, in gold instead of in silver. It is not intended for a moment to convey that a breach of the Permanent Settlement was contemplated by those responsible for this great change in monetary policy. Their attention was absorbed by much wider issues. But the fact must be faced that the Permanent Settlement has been broken as an incidental result of that change, and broken apparently without protest. But who are those who could protest against the breach? Surely not the *zamindar*. He would be morally estopped, supposing his interests were adversely affected, from making any complaint, because he has profited so largely up to 1859 by his own acts in breach of the Settlement, and by legislation which, as we have seen, constituted a virtual breach in his favour of the Permanent Settlement. But are the *zamindar's* interests really adversely affected by the later breach? Certainly not; since by the closure of the Mints in 1893 to the free coinage of silver the rupee became of enhanced value in exchange—in fact, a scarcity or monopoly coin. In other words, the general level of prices was lower than it would have been but for the change. Anything which results in the lowering of the general level of prices obviously benefits the *zamindar* at the expense of the *raiyat*, in so far as the latter's rents are paid in cash. The *raiyat* sells his crops for less, while the cash rent he pays represents more to the *zamindar*. The *zamindars*, therefore, can have no possible ground for complaint. Surely if any commentary were still needed on the folly of any Government attempting to bind its successors for all time, it would be afforded by the fact that not once nor twice, but on repeated occasions, within the century after its promulgation, has the Permanent Settlement been broken, and unwittingly broken, by legislative enactments designed to quite other ends. Moreover, its breach has always been in favour of the *zamindar*.

Schemes have been put forward for buying out the

samindars, but these are for the most part quite impracticable. The hope of the future seems to lie in some form of taxation of unearned increment rather than in expropriation. Since the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act in 1886 there has been all round improvement in the *raiyat's* position. This has been especially marked in Behar, where the evil results of the Permanent Settlement were most severely in evidence during the first half of the nineteenth century. In fact, it is no uncommon thing nowadays to find the occupancy rights in land selling at twice or even three or four times the *samindari* rights, and European indigo planters now generally prefer to hold land as *raiyats* than to holding it as *samindars* or leaseholders, unless, of course, the land be *zerat* or *khudkasht*,* in which case all the rights are merged in something resembling an English fee-simple. In Behar we find a very few large estates and a vast number of small ones. Nearly every big *raiyat* is also a *samindar*, and nearly every small *samindar* is a *raiyat*. In fact, it is not an uncommon thing to find a man both a *samindar* and a *raiyat* in respect of the same land. In other words, the *raiyat* is getting back his own by becoming a *samindar*. The question arises—how can we, and how ought we, to assist or guide this development?

Now if we look at the present conditions of village organization, there is one institution which stands out full of hope and great possibilities, which may yet prove a means of salvation to the cultivator. We refer to the communal village banks founded on the Raffeissen model.

The question naturally arises out of our present subject—is it not possible to utilize this institution to mollify some of the less agreeable features of landlordism as still evident? Not only has the rapid progress of sub-division of estates in some districts induced an apprehension in the minds of revenue officers as to the ultimate security of the land revenue, but it is notorious that the smaller landholder is

* Without entering into legal technicalities, we may define *zerat* or *khudkasht* as land in the ancient cultivating possession of the landlord.

generally a worse landlord than the big *samindar* with a reputation to keep up. If we must have landlordism at all—and we are apparently committed to it for all time in some shape or form—let us have the big landlord, or else, getting as near as we can to what was undoubtedly the original state of affairs, the communal village proprietor. Now there is, at the present day, in the ordinary village, no body of co-villagers sufficiently representative of the whole community to serve as the repository of the common proprietary rights. But why not make a beginning with the village bank where it exists? The development is, in fact, in the purely banking aspect, natural, if not inevitable. As the reserves of these small co-operative societies increase—and the increase of the reserves will, to the business mind, afford one of the surest indications of success—it will be necessary to find some ready means of safe investment. Now there can be no question that, regarded as an investment, land in his village will appeal to the villager as safer by far than any investment at a distance from his home, and perhaps beyond his purview and understanding. Moreover, from the point of view of the outsider, the security of the village bank would be much enhanced by virtue of the fact that to the joint and unlimited liability of its members is added the readily ascertainable asset of property in village land which cannot run away. This is the banking aspect. On a wider view the immense advantages which would accrue to the villagers from their becoming their own landlord must be evident to the most casual observer. First, there is the release of the village cultivator from the innumerable petty exactions of the small landlord. Next, he will be released from the burden of litigation which, at present, presses so heavily on the ordinary *raiyat*, as well as from the annoyance and waste of time and demoralizing influences inseparable from numerous appearances at Court. Then the sense of proprietorship should go far, if we may be guided by the experiences of the Continental peoples and the Irish, to

induce a spirit of responsibility and thrift such as is only seen among a people having its agricultural basis in peasant proprietorship. These are among the more prominent advantages that would be likely to accrue from such a change. There are, doubtless, many secondary advantages. We should, at any rate, be inaugurating reform from the right end, for the truest reform is often the restoration of the balance upset.

It is probable that, once the ball was fairly set rolling, little direct encouragement would be required. With the example of a few successful cases before them, other villages would soon arrange the necessary administrative machinery, and voluntary co-operative associations would spring up without any direct official encouragement. It seems, however, that the co-operative credit society is the natural precursor of such a movement, because the cultivator cannot hope to buy land till he is free from the shackles of the local moneylender. When the successful individual cultivator or the village moneylender buys land he becomes *ipso facto* a landlord, and often a very unsatisfactory landlord. That is the perpetuation of landlordism, but this is the inauguration of a new system, or rather the revival of a very old system—cultivating proprietorship.

The thing is worth striving after, if only for the fact that after all these years of confusion and misunderstanding, the *raiyat* would at last be getting back his own—getting it back at a price, indeed, and a sacrifice—but in circumstances which can leave no possible doubt that he will reap the fruits of his sacrifice in full measure, pressed down and overflowing. As Sir H. Maine has said, speaking of the village community (Ancient Law), "Conquests and revolutions seem to have swept over it without disturbing or displacing it, and the most beneficent systems of government in India have always been those which have recognized it as the basis of administration."

REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

THE ORIENTALIST CONGRESS AT ATHENS.

THE Sixteenth International Congress of Orientalists, which took place at Athens from April 7 to 14, was, in spite of its interest, less important than its predecessors. This was due to the coincidence of the Congress with the Jubilee of Athens University (seventy-fifth anniversary), and with the solemn official celebration of the Easter festivities (Court *Te Deum* service at the Cathedral, army review, etc.). A Congress of Orientalists, to be truly fruitful, needs a calmer atmosphere than that of University jubilee and royal and religious solemnities.

The meetings in the Semitic Section were very well attended. Among Arabists present were Coldziher, Snouck-Hungronje, Basset, Grimme, Hess, Jacob, Margoliouth, P. Lammens, etc. Among the Hebraïsts and other Semitists: Bezold, Nowack, Zimmern, Haupt, Jeremias, Zapletal, etc. A number of interesting studies were presented, but the same criticism may be made against this Congress as against those which preceded it: there was too much detail-work (what one Congressist called "too many arabesques"), and too little time accorded to the discus-

sions—the one serious reproach which may be formulated against the majority of International Congresses.

The University of Athens and its genial Rector, Mr. S. Lambros, did everything possible to make their guests happy and to receive them with honour. Under the title *Ξένια*, they published a fine volume of papers on Hellenism, presented by the National University of Greece on the occasion of its jubilee. The organization of the Congress, nevertheless, was not all that could be desired; keen complaints were heard with regard to the reductions promised on fares (by rail and by sea), and the farewell banquet, the classic banquet of every Congress, could not take place. All this, however, could not make one forget the charming welcome accorded by the political and University authorities, the graciousness of the Court, and the eagerness of the townspeople to render every assistance to Congress members.

ISLAM.

Volume V. of the "*Annali dell' Islam*, compilati da Leone Caetani" * has just been published, dealing with year 23 of the Hegira. This masterly publication is so well known that it needs no commendation here.

E. Bernet has just brought out an account of a most interesting voyage in Tripolitania.† The author went to Ghadames in charge of a scientific expedition. The route from Tripoli to the famous oasis is described with much care, and many judicious observations are made in regard to the natives. The author evinces great sympathy for the Berbers of Tripolitania, and does homage to the excellent work, too little appreciated, which has been carried out in this district by the Turkish Government.

An interesting description of a Persian pilgrimage to

* In 4to., "*Con una carta geografica e quattro illustrazioni.*" Milano: U. Hoepli, 1912.

† "*En Tripolitaine, Voyage à Ghadamès,*" in 8vo., with illustrations and map. Paris: Fontemoing, 1912.

Mecca in 1910-11, by H. Kazem Zadeh, appeared in the *Revue du Monde Musulman* for June, 1912.*

Numberless publications concerning Morocco are being published. Among them we would call attention to one excellent work, very exactly informed and very practical, by A. Terrier and J. Ladreit de Lacharrière, entitled "Pour réussir au Maroc."† This book extols the work accomplished by France in Chaouïa; the trade passing through the port of Casablanca has doubled in a single year (the main part of the traffic is French). In 1910 it amounted to 24,310,000 francs, and in 1911 to 49,000,000 francs. One so often hears French Colonial activity disparaged, that it is useful to quote these eloquent figures.

There has recently been published the first volume, by H. Carbou, of a very complete and most interesting study on "La Région du Tchad et du Ouadaï."‡ This first volume is devoted to ethnographical studies on the populations in the Kanem district, on the Toubous and the Lisi, and on fetish worship, and a practical study on the Toubou language (a dialect of the Dazagadas). The author has published separately§ a study on the Arab dialect in the Tchad region—a dialect which is the common tongue of all the natives there.

J. Ribera and M. Asin have issued a very instructive catalogue of a collection of manuscripts recently discovered in Spain: "Manuscritos arabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta."|| By *aljamiados* are meant manuscripts written in Spanish, but in Arabic characters, by Spanish converts to Islam. These manuscripts were discovered in 1884 by Almonacid de la Sierra, concealed between two floors of a house that was being demolished.

* Paris: E. Leroux.

† One volume in 8vo. (ten photogravures and map). Paris: P. Roger et Cie, 1912.

‡ In 8vo. Paris: E. Leroux, 1912.

§ Paris: P. Geuthner.

|| In 8vo., with numerous facsimiles. Madrid: 1912. ("Junta para ampliación de estudios é investigaciones científicas.")

A. L. M. Nicolas has published, with the lofty scholarship which characterizes his work, two new studies on Sheikism: "Le Chéikhisme: la Doctrine" (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1911), and "La Science de Dieu" (*Essai sur le Chéikhisme*, IV.).*

* In 8vo. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1911.

THE LATE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

AN APPRECIATION.

BY C. M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

HIS Imperial Majesty Mutsu Hito Ten shi, the 122nd * Mikado of the unbroken dynasty of Japan, was born on November 3, 1852, in the ancient city of Kyoto, which was formerly the seat of Imperial Government. He succeeded to the throne after his father, Komei, in the year 1867. His Imperial Majesty Mutsu Hito married according to the Shinto rite on December 28 of the same year, Princess Haruko, third daughter of Ichijō Tadaka, a noble of the first rank.

Few Emperors have assumed the reins of government during such a momentous crisis of their country, and few could have accomplished their task with sounder judgment. It is true that His Imperial Majesty had received a thorough training for the responsibilities that would sooner or later devolve upon him as a Ruler. But this training was imbued with all the traditions of the past. With these deeply implanted in his mind at so early an age in his career, it must have required great mental balance to organize and accept the unprecedented changes that were found to be expedient at the outset of the Meiji era.

* This is confirmed by W. E. Griffis, though by some writers His Imperial Majesty is named 121st of the unbroken dynasty.

Now that his reign has ended, a near retrospect of the forty-four years through which he ruled, the events that have been crowded into that term, and the issue of the same, makes us realize the wonderful capacity and success of Japan's late Sovereign.

From dawn to the meridian of light he passed during his illustrious career. His was a blameless life, and by reason of the many virtues that he possessed, the tasks that grew in magnitude crowned his life with triumph.

The term of "Great Peace" had taught the Japanese an important lesson. During seclusion arts had flourished, loyalty had taken deep root, and the spirit of military ardour had gained in virility. Patriotism culminated almost to worship of a Monarch beloved, and believed to be Divine. This admirable characteristic led the people to the insatiable desire to see their Ruler restored to absolute power. Thus it came about that, eager for a new régime after a short struggle, the Shōgunate was abolished. Keiki, the last Shōgun, bowing to circumstances, recognized that a dual form of government was no longer conducive to the welfare of the country, and consequently resigned and retired with true dignity, to his lasting merit.

Events new and almost startling in their development followed one another with surprising rapidity. On the Restoration of Imperial Sovereignty, Embassies to great Powers were undertaken. This ultimately led to the Revision of Treaties, which proved of incalculable benefit to the nation. Education of all classes and of both sexes became the next consideration. This received the full approval of their Sovereign. Though at first a difficult work to organize, it proved a great success when developed. The war with China ushered in Japan to the notice of the world as to her military possibilities. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the rivalry between Russia and Japan culminating in a conflict between the two countries, international relationships and other circumstances of a far-reaching nature

gained for the Land of the Rising Sun her coveted position as a World Power. The growth of industries and trades, the acquisition of Formosa, Korea, the Lui Kui, and the Kuril Islands, together with the re-ceding of Kara-futo (the southern half of Saghalien), the leasing of the Liao-tung peninsula, the occupation of Port Arthur, and other grand events, have made a brilliant chapter in the history of the ever-expanding Empire.

The promise of a Constitutional government was granted, and faithfully carried out by the Emperor on February 11, 1889, and in the following year the first session of the Imperial Diet was convoked. This was the fulfilment of that solemn declaration made at the time of his Coronation "that public affairs shall be determined by public assembly." The chapters that embody the Constitution of Japan are deeply interesting, but space cannot be afforded here to their details.

Under the spell of self-control and utter forgetfulness of his rôle of renunciation, a gravity born out of great resolve settled over the life of this great Ruler. No wonder he was rarely seen to smile. Wrapped in the impregnable barrier of dignified reserve, he drew forth the admiration of his devoted advisers, and deepened their fealty for one who, after centuries of rooted traditions, could bow to the call of enterprise, which brooked no delay. Progress for the public weal, expansion on every side on foreign lines, and a general remodelling of all former institutions culminated in the comprehensive motto that should proclaim the reign of H.I.M. Mutsu Hito "The Era of Enlightenment."

His was a dignity that preferred seclusion, but which never disregarded the call for action. He sought to hold the love of his people more by his absence than by his presence among them. By this means each loyal subject created for themselves their individual ideal.

Mutsu Hito's daily life apart from his responsibilities was simple and methodical. Hours were often spent in literary

pursuits. The poet's mind was his, and he perpetuated his genius in exquisite *Tanka*, or verse, peculiar to the land. It was in this way that his recognition of his people's affection found expression. He saw beneath the material aspect of the toiling figure in the ragged garment, and the weather-worn shoe; the pain, and the suffering, the struggle, and the resolve. Mutsu Hito was a man of contemplation, silent in speech, but fertile of brain, ever thinking of those with whom he was not closely surrounded—the labourer in the field, the soldier in battle, the loving wife keeping her lonely watch before some simple shrine, asking for the brave endurance of her lord, even unto death. These were constantly in his thoughts, and his appreciation of their loyalty has been immortalized in verse. A powerful but invisible sympathy was thus created, and a communion of soul with soul established, between Sovereign and subjects, to endure through all time.

On July 29, while darkness was merging into dawn, the Monarch who had ruled wisely and well over the Empire of 4,000 isles, after a brief but painful illness, ceased to breathe. The prayers and sighs of his sorrowing subjects were silenced by the hush of death. Multitudes within those scattered seagirt homes will never now look upon his still, grave face. H.I.M. Mutsu Hito Tenshi has passed from among us, and has been gathered to his illustrious ancestors.

The immortal Iyeyasu gained his renown by the veto he levied against aliens and religion, expelling alike from the land, the foreigner and the Christian. The name of Mutsu Hito will for ever be associated with the opening of the gates of the Land of the Rising Sun, and the absolute freedom of religion, coupled with justice and humanity—these blessings he generously granted to all within his realm: For this, beloved by all, revered by his councillors, admired by foreigners, he lived the central figure of a beautiful land—a land of art, full of traditional interest that

charmed by reason of its individuality, mysticism, and necromancy, the hearts of many beyond the seas, as well as those to whom it belongs.

Where the tall cryptomeria rear their stately forms, as living witnesses to all the traditional grandeur of bygone years, of procession and custom, sacred dance and ceremonial display; where the ring-doves coo, and the temple bell beats out the march of time; where the heron wings her flight across the pathless heavens, and the tall torii precludes the approach to the inner sanctuary of Peace, may the earthly remains of this great Ruler rest while the wheels of energy gyrate and expansive theories widen, and far-distant dreams of aggrandizement find fulfilment, and the old order gives more place to the new ideals! The work that it was his mission to commence and vitalize goes on and on—unending in the restless passion of the passing age. This will not disturb the Master resting after toil. The glory of his life will shed its aura around the quiet sacred spot where Peace and Perfect Rest are sought and found.

The priceless emblems of the Regalia of Japan pass into the keeping of Prince Yoshi-hito Hara-no-miya, third son of the late Emperor. The injunction accompanying the Mirror, the Sword, and the Jewel bequeathed by Amaterasu herself to Jimmu Tenno, Japan's first Ruler, runs as follows: "*By this Mirror you will discern between right and wrong. Judge all as you would cut by this Sword. Keep virtue pure and smooth as the Jewel, then you will rule the world for ever.*"

Within these emblems lie the secret strength of Japan's greatness. The Mirror of Truth, into which the devotee gazes to search into his own heart. The Sword, that rights the wrong and establishes honour. The Jewel, emblem of the soul, wherein traditions of a far-reaching significance centre. These three, by their virtues, will guide the royal will, bent on continuing the triumphs of illustrious ancestors, whose spirits, though they have passed beyond the

material, yet are ever present to the true believer. Their power and influence endures through the long dynasty unshaken from its foundation. Confident of future success, aided by love and loyalty, may the new *Era of Great Righteousness* be known by deeds as great as those which will henceforth illuminate the Meiji era now passed away.

THE PREMIER CROWN COLONY.

CEYLON ADMINISTRATION AND REFORM.

BY EDWARD W. PERERA,

Barrister-at-law of the Middle Temple and Advocate of the Ceylon Bar.

CEYLON has not remained uninfluenced by the world movement which is revolutionizing the face of all Asia. The Westernization of the East first began there, and it will be interesting to take stock of the influences which have moulded, and are moulding, the island along modern lines. It also offers a microcosm of the forces at work in India, Persia, Japan and China; the difference, the contrast and the comparison amid varying conditions will show the thoughtful student how far the new wine of Western Constitutionalism may be entrusted to the old bottles of Eastern Conservatism. Not to go back to the days when ambassadors from "utmost Indian Isle Taprobane" stood in the courts of the Cæsars, Ceylon became properly known to Europe through the Portuguese, in the dawn of the sixteenth century. They found an imitative people, who readily assimilated all the arts, civilization and learning, and, in a great many instances, the religion of the conquistadores.

When the *roi fainéant* Don João Dharmapāla, the last king *de facto* of the lowlands and *de jure* overlord of the whole island, died a Portuguese pensioner in the citadel of Colombo, in 1597, he devised the whole island by his will

to Philip II., though the highland kingdom maintained its independence under the rule of the King of Kandy.

A Convention of Singhalese chiefs and deputies from every county (Kōrale) denied the king's right to will away the island and agreed to acknowledge the King of Portugal only on condition that their laws and privileges were guaranteed in their entirety. This was done by a written treaty, "confirmed by solemn oaths on both sides," and the whole sea-board passed under the rule of Portugal.

When Holland, according to her policy in the seventeenth century, allied herself with the King of Kandy to expel the Portuguese from Ceylon and agreed to restore the captured fortresses on the sea-board in return for the most favoured treatment, Galle surrendered in 1646 and Colombo in 1656.

The Portuguese in the Articles of Capitulation of Colombo in 1656, stipulated *that the native inhabitants of this place, both married and unmarried, and strangers of all classes shall be allowed to enjoy the same privileges as have been asked for the Portuguese Burghers and married people, that is, that "they shall be allowed to have free and undisturbed possession of their houses, goods, villages and whatever else may belong to them, and shall be treated as natural-born Dutchmen."*—(Articles IX., and VII., Treaty May 11, 1656). Further, in accepting the terms proposed by the Portuguese, the Dutch specially undertook that "*the Modeliars, (Singhalese Colonels) Aratchies (Majors) and Lascorins (soldiers), with their adherents, shall be treated with the same kindness as our own people.*"

Although all the lowland provinces, the heritage of the Portuguese, soon fell into the hands of the Dutch, they declined, on various pretexts, to carry out their undertaking with the King of Kandy. However, the legal tenure of the Dutch rested on the Articles of Cession from the Portuguese, subject to all the incidents and conditions under which they, in turn, had acquired the country from the Singhalese. The invasion of Holland by Napoleon's General Pichegru, and the flight of the Prince of Orange

to England, induced the British to demand the surrender of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, "to prevent their being made a base of operations by Napoleon." Colombo surrendered in 1796, the British undertaking, by the Articles of Capitulation, "*that the citizens and other inhabitants shall be allowed to follow their occupations, and enjoy all the liberties and privileges of the subjects of His Britannic Majesty*"—Article XIX., Treaty Feb. 15, 1796.

After the capture of the last King of Kandy, Sri Vikrama Rāja Singha, against whom his subjects were incensed for his cruelty, the Kandyan Singhalese, in a solemn Convention attended by chiefs and representative people, ceded the Kandyan Kingdom to Britain. The British, in the Articles of Cession, agreed to save to all "*the Adigars, Dissāves, Mohotteles, Cora-als, Vidaans and all other chief and subordinate native headmen . . . the rights, privileges and powers of their respective offices and to all classes of the people, the safety of their persons and property with their civil rights and immunities according to the laws, institutions and customs established and in force amongst them.*"—Kandyan Convention, November 21, 1815. "From this day," says Knighton, "we may date the extinction of Singhalese independence, an independence which had continued without any material interruption for 2,357 years."

Hence Ceylon became a part of the British Empire by cession with the obligation and guarantee that the privileges and rights of the Singhalese would be maintained. In terms of the Proclamation of November 21, 1818 "every Kandyan, be he of the highest or lowest class, is secured in his *life, liberty and property from encroachment of any kind or by any person and is only subject to the laws, which will be administered according to the ancient and established usages of the country.*"

Under the Dutch the maritime provinces of Ceylon had been grouped into three large administrative districts or commanderies, presided over by Dutch officials, such as the

Dissawa* of Colombo, the Commandant of Jaffna, the Captain of Galle and the Dissāwa of Matara. These large districts were each divided into so many Korales or counties, presided over by Singhalese chiefs or Mudaliyars. This system of rural administration was most elaborate and had descended from ancient times. The Mudaliyar was a civil commissioner, whose dignity and powers resembled those of the Lord-Lieutenant of a county. He was endowed with judicial, military, executive and civil jurisdiction, and had under him minor chiefs, who had charge of separate villages, or presided over a group of them.

The Mudaliyar, who was often the largest landowner in the district, commanded the local militia. He had an escort of two bands of militia-men, and he sat as judge in his hall. He was paid no salary, instead of which he enjoyed a fief of office, comprising gardens and fields, with tenants bound to cultivate them and perform service. The fief reverted when he resigned office. The whole of the civil administration centred round these Mudaliyars and the minor headmen, who, also, were paid for their services by grants of land on tenure of service.

In 1797 an ill-considered attempt to annex the island to India ended in disaster. For twenty centuries Ceylon had worked out her own civilization, and her own political and historical salvation, apart from that of India. With the South Indian Tamils she had very little sympathy. The British possessions in Ceylon were annexed to the Madras Presidency, the post of Governor, which had existed from Portuguese times was abolished, and the ancient administrative system of government by Singhalese chiefs, which was guaranteed by the pledges of three successive governments, Portuguese, Dutch and British, was replaced by Madrased tax-collectors. They were quartered throughout the country. Their exactions and outrages, coupled with the abolition of the feudal chief system to which the people had

*.Dissāwa' Singh, "Provincial Governor," a title continued by Portuguese, Dutch, and British.

been accustomed, lashed the Singhalese into revolt. The home government withdrew the control of the East India Company and erected Ceylon into a Crown Colony, restoring the ancient system of government by the chiefs. The Hon. Frederic North (afterwards Earl of Guilford) was appointed the first governor, and Ceylon was proclaimed a Crown Colony on his landing in the island (October 12, 1798). "His appointment, and that of all the civil affairs, were made by the King; but in the conduct of affairs, he was placed under the orders of the Governor-General of India." This arrangement continued till Ceylon was finally incorporated with the British Dominions by the Treaty of Amiens (March 2, 1802). Sir Frederic North ruled the Colony till 1805, when he left to become Chief Commissioner of the Ionian Islands and first President of the University of Athens."

Sir Frederic revived the state receptions of chiefs by the Governor, and made himself popular by parties and social assemblies at which he conversed with the Mudaliyars in Portuguese. The system of rule through chiefs was maintained intact.

After the events which brought on the downfall of the Kandyan kingdom in 1815, there was no far-reaching administrative change till the Kandyan revolt of 1817. The Singhalese resistance was so strong and persistent that at one time orders were sent out from England to withdraw the British forces from the country. One of the principal reasons for the insurrection was the diminution of the powers of the chiefs, whose rights and privileges had been guaranteed by the Kandyan Convention; and the supersession of the ancient fabric of Kandyan government.

A Royal Commission was sent out in 1817 to report on the causes of the war and to decide what steps should be taken to reorganize the administration of the country.

As a result the whole island was consolidated into one administration, under a single executive; the Kandyan kingdom was broken up; the old provinces disappeared,

the Colony being re-divided, for purposes of government, into eight new provinces.

The island was granted a Constitution with an Executive and Legislative Council, both nominated by the Governor ; trial by jury was introduced for the first time in the history of Asia ; slavery was abolished with the co-operation of the owners, who willingly manumitted their slaves.

The most far-reaching change, however, consequent upon British rule was the break up of the manorial system, the abolition of compulsory service (*corvée*), the payment of the chiefs and the withdrawal of fiefs of office. This last measure greatly affected the status of the chiefs, both in the lowland and the Kandyan provinces, and tended in time to lower the standard of rural administration. A dole of £5 a month was allowed instead of the tracts of land called fiefs of office, which allowed the chiefs to live in ease and comfort and to dispense lavish hospitality to all who entered their mansion. This has continued up to the present day, practically without any increase during the last seventy-five years. Grave abuses have sprung up because men have been forced, on this pittance, to maintain the state of the prominent citizen of their district, to entertain British Agents of government when they come on tour, and to fulfil a variety of obligations which their rank entails. For all this funds are needed, which the fiefs of office at one time readily supplied, but since their withdrawal there are several instances in which chiefs are being crushed under a millstone of debt, incurred with a view to upholding their dignity. Naturally, owing to the advance and progress made, a great many of the feudal powers of the Kandyan Chiefs and Mudaliyars have disappeared ; the judicial and military jurisdictions have long been withdrawn. The powers that have survived are mainly those of administering, and of repressing crime in the rural districts, and in this they are helped by the minor headmen. Unfortunately an innovation has been recently introduced for further curtailing the usefulness of the chiefs

and their subordinates. Police are now quartered in the villages to aid in the suppression of crime, and they usurp the functions of the headmen. Usually the constables employed are men drawn from a much lower stratum of society than the rural headmen, and are paid about £1 a month, a wage too meagre to raise them above the suspicion of eking it out by questionable means.

These policemen, armed with practically arbitrary power in the midst of a defenceless village population, are subordinated to station-house officers, with regard to whom the *Ceylon Observer*, a high-class daily, edited by the Colombo correspondent of the London *Times*, speaks as follows in its issue of March 30 :

“THE POLICE DEPARTMENT.—The sentence of three years' rigorous imprisonment against a police station house officer at the Kandy sessions for a grave crime, many charges against others of the same rank which have come up from time to time, and three deaths by suicide, should lead the Government and the Inspector-General of Police seriously to consider the wisdom of continuing the present system. One fault of it is on the score of age. A chosen Britisher at twenty-one is master of the situation wherever he may be. The same cannot be said of a Ceylonese. At twenty-one, the permissible age for joining the force, the Ceylonese youth of the class from which station house officers are chiefly recruited have not sufficiently matured to discharge responsible police duties properly. They lack ballast, and their presence at any centre of crime does not inspire the respect which an older man would inspire.”

It is the irony of fate, by the way, that the station house officers, like those tax collectors whose importation proved so disastrous at the beginning of our rule, come from South India.

But it is impossible to deal adequately with the question of the policing of Ceylon in an article principally concerned with the Singhalese chiefs. To return to the latter, there is still a prestige attached to the dignity of Ratemahatmaya

(Kandyan chief) and Mudaliyar (Lowland Chief) in the country districts, where a halo of semi-divinity, as it were, continues to surround their office. These men are valuable assets of administration, which a thoughtless and parsimonious policy is rendering well-nigh useless. Throughout the ages the sentiment of hereditary respect contributed, without much effort or cost, to work the machine of rural administration. But serious dents have been made in the fabric; and instead of being rendered workable, the system, through a sense of false economy and official inexperience, has been turned into an engine of oppression both to the chiefs themselves and to the men over whom they bear rule.

The personnel and training of the Kandyan chiefs and Mudaliyars, too, have changed. The Kandyan chiefs had, from time immemorial, been drawn from the great territorial families, with royal villages as appanages of office, till the fall of Kandy. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Mudaliyars, the Singhalese chiefs of the maritime provinces, were generally chosen from the leading families of the districts which they administered, and they had served in the junior grades of the militia before they attained to chieftain rank, also being given an insight into civil administration by association with the agents of the Dutch East India Company. With the sweeping away of the ancient military system, the minor headmen, though retaining their military titles, continued as civil functionaries in the lowland provinces, while in the highland districts the Kandyan chiefs merely became phantoms of their former authority.

On the reconstitution of the system of headmanship, in 1833, the former grants of land were withdrawn from the chiefs, and no pay was fixed for their services. Moreover, the minor headmen, since that period, have become crystallized into a class practically bereft of all hope of advancement, since no prospect of district chieftainships (mudaliyarships), in the order of natural promotion, has been held out to them. Those who attain to the chief headmanships or mudaliyarships,

again, lack preliminary training in the subordinate positions, being merely drawn from the cadets of families which had previously held mudaliyarships. These lads serve in the Kachcheris, or collectors' offices—which have been introduced from Madras—as clerks, and after doing so sufficiently long to stamp out all originality, independence, initiative and character, are drafted as Mudaliyars to some country district on the princely sum of £6 a month, to maintain the dignity of chiefs and act as lords over hundreds of His Majesty's lieges.

With the personnel of the chiefs has changed the personnel of the British Official. The opening of the competitive tests of the Civil Service to "rankers" is pointed out, without sufficient justification, as the reason of the deterioration in the methods and manners of the modern British Official in his dealings with Oriental peoples. Perhaps a truer reason is that young men without any knowledge of the world, fresh from school or University, are dumped down to begin life, armed with autocratic powers, in a strange colony. The same class of youth, when met with in his own natural sphere, is quite different; he is the unaffected, courteous and obliging "clerk" of the Home Civil Service. The conditions of his environment prevent him from developing into a "bounder" bureaucrat. To the Mudaliyar or Ratamahatmaya* the Government Agent fills the place of the Dissāwa, the Viceroy of Singhalese times, the representative of the King, as the Ratamahatmaya stands to the villagers in the relation of feudal chief. The tradition of feudalism, in which the Mudaliyar or Ratamahatmaya has been brought up from his youth, makes him regard the British Agent and his deputies with the respect due to a Viceroy. This is also accounted for by the fact that the Mudaliyar began life as a "volunteer" junior clerk in the office of the British Agent, on a wage of £1 a month. The Mudaliyar's regard for the dignity of the Agent is often misinterpreted by the European official:

* Kandyan chief.

in his ignorance of local conditions, he may, not unnaturally, construe these tokens of respect as being due to his personal qualities and to his being a member of the "ruling race." A false situation is thus created. The young civilian is unconsciously filled with a sense of his superior position, and develops in after years into the cast-iron bureaucrat, out of touch with the social life and the progressive movements that are going on around him. His vision is bounded by his little court of "feudal chiefs" and their lieges, the peasant yeomen, over whom he constitutes himself the guardian divinity, claiming to understand them more thoroughly than men of their own blood,* denounced by him as entirely alienated from the rest of their countrymen by reason of their English education.

A broader statesmanship, on the other hand, would welcome articulate and constitutional criticism, with a view to introducing needed reforms before they are too long over-due. But the colonial bureaucrat, like the crustaceans whose eyes become atrophied by being continuously kept in the dark, cannot or will not see the subtle forces that are now changing the "Unchanging East." His reluctance to allow any of his rights and privileges to devolve upon educated Asiatics may be traced to a sub-conscious tendency to preserve to his class its personal ascendancy and all the loaves and fishes of office. Adulation and unrestrained power have ever spoilt men, and it is not their fault that these causes have operated to mar the usefulness of a body otherwise magnificently equipped for administration. The fault lies with the bureaucratic system, not with them.

But we have strayed from the subject: the status of the chief has deteriorated, and the prestige attaching to the officiating chief, the effective Ratemahatmaya or Mudaliyar, is fast dwindling. This is due to the reluctance of self-respecting educated members of gentle families to take up

* This was actually set out in a recent State Paper by Governor Sir Henry McCallum as a reason why educated Ceylonese should not be granted the franchise.

posts, which make them the victims—though not of positive rudeness, except in a few cases—of a lofty and distant condescension on the part of the agents and subordinate agents of Government. Add to this the meagreness of the pay, which makes it impossible for them to maintain the state of a great feudal chief, the diminution of their rights, and the quartering of police on the villages, which has withdrawn from the chiefs and their minor headmen duties performed by them from time immemorial, and has brought tyranny in its train. The more intelligent sons of the Singhalese chiefs have begun to gravitate to the professions, while the more backward of them have taken their fathers' places. The depreciation of the status of the chiefs, the lowering of their prestige, and the lack of discrimination in their appointments, attracted the serious attention of the late Sir Arthur Gordon (Lord Stanmore) when Governor. During his régime he emphasized, in a way which will never be forgotten by the older Civil servants, the manner in which the chiefs and the Singhalese peasantry ought to be treated. He regarded them as "the King's equal subjects," inaugurated an annual durbar of chiefs, and made the well-being of the peasant proprietor the keynote of his policy, as may be seen from his magnificent irrigation scheme. A Government Agent, who humiliated a Kandyan chief, making him stand behind his chair while he got information from a petty headman, was made to understand by the Governor that the chief was a more important personage in the district than the Agent himself, and that it was not conducive to efficient government that a chief should be publicly disgraced. Another Government Agent whom the Governor saw seated in a provincial rest-house and addressing a low-country chief who stood before him, was peremptorily told that his conduct was highly reprehensible. All this changed, in a few years, with the departure of Sir Arthur Gordon. Sir Henry Blake, with the instincts of the country gentleman, tried at the beginning of his administration to effect some reform; he banished

a Government Agent, who, with the aid of a too complaisant Kandyan chief, had forced the villagers to render compulsory service ; but the Governor was swept off his feet by the strong current of official conservatism and autocracy, and his reform only culminated in a revival of the pageantry of feudalism. The number of chiefs of different grades was fixed, their uniforms regulated, and the picturesque old guard of the Kings of Kandy was resuscitated to do duty at the Governor's pavilion in Kandy. There was some chance of a proper scheme being formulated when Sir Alexander Ashmore was appointed Colonial Secretary. He said that a radical change was necessary in the appointment of the chiefs, and drew up a minute which his tragic death prevented from being followed up by vigorous action.

Meanwhile, things went from bad to worse under a type of administrator hitherto unknown in Ceylon. As an instance of the extent to which they have forgotten the solemn covenants entered into by Britain with the Singhalese, it may be mentioned that when Governor Sir H. McCallum was entertained by British planters during his first tour in the island, Kandyan chieftains were actually told off to keep back the crowds outside the provincial rest-house at which the banquet took place !

The present situation is strikingly summed up in the following quotation from a Ceylon journal : " There is something cynical in the attitude of the Government of Ceylon towards those functionaries whom it grandiloquently styles ' Native Chiefs,' for whose opinion, in Durbar assembled, it professes to entertain so profound a veneration. The present régime in particular has signalized its policy by elevating ' the Durbar of Native Chiefs ' to the dignity of a regular annual parliament, duly accompanied by social entertainments, which may even culminate in a Luncheon at Queen's House. A stranger visiting these latitudes for a short while would go away much impressed by the grandeur of the Chief's high position, official state, and

magnificent trappings. With the usual amount of imagination necessary to help him to achieve a magazine article, he would have material enough to draw a most attractive picture of the stately dignity and lofty situation of the great Chieftains who fittingly represent to the awed mind of the primitive 'Cingalee' the majesty of the British Raj. This is the fiction intended to strike the beholder of the Chief's dignity. The fact which strikes the holder of that dignity is rather different. That is where the cynicism of the Government is revealed. The Government invites the public to attach an immense value to these positions, but does not itself care to attach any very great value to them. Men value things according to what those things cost them. The Native Chief, with all his glittering gold and magnificence thick upon him, all his momentous utterances in the annual parliament—scrupulously recorded by the Official Shorthand Writer, and duly published in Sessional Papers for the edification and instruction of the vulgar—this great and mighty pillar of the State is rated in actual cash on a level with the Public Works Department Master Carpenter, a little lower than Government Motor-Car Drivers, and a little higher than those unfortunate Telephone Inspectors who now take rank with coolies. The Eastern imagination is easily captivated by titles and sword-belts. Wherefore the Government bestows titles freely, and takes care to get their recipients to provide their own gold trappings. Bits of tinsel cost nothing, and since men in the East are foolish enough to set a high value on such things, the Government is only too pleased to proceed along lines so conveniently economical. One can picture the quiet smile of amusement with which these things are arranged from time to time. Do the Oriental simpletons appraise the dignity of Government service highly? How convenient for the Government. The Government carefully assists the engaging superstition, and shrewdly adjusts its remuneration for service accordingly. It pays so much in dignity, and reluctantly makes up the balance due in cash. When the

unfortunate man finds that a wife and family cannot be maintained on little cash and much dignity, the Government listens to his humble petition with gathering astonishment, and reminds him that he, the servant of the Government, is not like unto other men. He is actually a Public Servant. It may be that other men, doing the same kind of work, are better paid. But then, what of the dignity of a Government Servant? . . .

There are twenty-five Mudaliyars in the Provincial Service of the Government, each is a Native Chief of high degree, and each attends the annual Durbar Palaver, begirt with gold belt, magnificent with gold facings, and stately with a shining piece of cutlery by his side. But the gold lies all without, on their person, none within, in their purse. The dignity is sublime, but the pay is ridiculous. Is it not worth adjusting the two somewhat more rationally? A little less dignity, a little less 'fuss' over the ridiculous Durbar Puppet Show, and a little better pay would be more seemly in these practical days."

What is as important as criticism is a scheme of reconstruction, a scheme that will secure the financial independence and self-respect of the chiefs, while safeguarding the rights of the Singhalese peasantry, that will take into account changed conditions, while preserving the spirit of the guarantees to which Britain pledged herself on her acquiring the sovereignty of the island; that will utilize the tradition deeply seated in the sentiment of a vast part of the Singhalese community, as an asset for furthering the course of ordered development, good government and the gradual uplifting of the masses through the medium of their natural leaders. The basis of such a re-adjustment is laid down, as follows, in the Minute by Sir Alexander Ashmore :

"COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE,

"COLOMBO,

"SIR,

"September 29, 1906.

"His Excellency the Governor's attention has recently been invited to a representation that, in making recom-

mendations to fill vacant Chief Headmanships (including in that term the offices of Mudaliyar, Ratemahatmaya, Vanniyaer or Maniakar, and President), Government Agents not infrequently select candidates of the class of clerk (Kachcheri Interpreters, Muhandirams, and other like applicants), passing over the members of the native land-owning aristocracy, from whom are chosen Kōrale Muhandirams, Kōrālas, and other like officers.

“ 2. The Governor considers that the course referred to is in ordinary circumstances a mistake in policy. The vast majority of the inhabitants of this country are a land-owning people, and as such pay special respect and regard to the land-owning gentry of their respective races. They are most easily influenced by them and they prefer the direction of the heads of families, whom they know, to that of persons regarded by them as new comers and aliens.

“ 3. I am therefore to request you, in making recommendations for vacant offices of the Chief Headmen, to very carefully consider the claims of the class of local land-owners of good family and estate, and especially to pay attention to the cases of those of them who, having served as District Headmen of lesser rank, are fitted by social position, rank and education for higher promotion. And I am to state that, ordinarily, a person not of that class and not a native of the District where he is to reside and where he is expected to exercise the authority of Government, should not be recommended, unless it is impossible to obtain the services of a member of the class indicated.

“ 4. I am to explain that it is not intended by this instruction to put a stop to the entry into the Native Department of the Kachcheries of the sons of the landed gentry with a view to train them for further public service, or in any way to disqualify them for Chief Headmanships. They are of the class from which it is desired that selection should be made, but it is ordinarily expedient that they should serve in the lower before they attain the higher ranks.

“ 5. I am to add that it must be remembered that the

stipends of Chief Headmen, and in a less degree those of Presidents, are not adjusted to the requirements of strangers living in strange lands: while they are on the other hand quite adequate to put native gentlemen living in their own houses and among their own dependents in a position of ease. And it should be an object of policy, for that if for no other reason, to establish the Chief Headmen and Presidents in their own districts and among their own people.

“ I am, sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ A. M. ASHMORE

“ (*Colonial Secretary*).”

But the most important points are the method of choice and the amount of salary. Cadets who possess the necessary requirements, according to the Minute of Sir Alexander Ashmore, might be selected. Their practical training ought to be such as to give them the lead in agricultural and industrial enterprise, in the economic improvement of their districts, and in the advancement of its general culture. Commissions of the peace might safely be entrusted to them, and their salary might be raised to at least £20 per month, with which the cadet of the Civil Service starts. The Dutch Government, it may be observed in this connection, was much more generous. The problem of the petty headman is an equally difficult one. They are not paid anything, yet they must serve as bailiffs and look after the police, and they are held responsible for the order and well-being of the villagers. The fact cannot be ignored that serious abuses have, in their case too, crept in. The *class of man* appointed has not been the right one and the nominees are apt to make up for the absence of salary by exactions on the helpless peasantry, who are too timid to retaliate. The Government does not touch the system, because it would have to expend money in order to effect an improvement. The existing abuses, which are very

grave, can only be remedied by the appointment, as minor headmen, of the class described by Sir Alexander Ashmore, and by a return to the ancient practice of setting apart certain Crown lands in each district as fiefs of office, tenable by the headmen during their period of administration.

It may be added, in this connection, that the wisdom of this method of payment has been vindicated by the grants made by the King-Emperor at the Delhi Durbar as the best means of rewarding Orientals.

ENGLAND AND THE MOSLEM WORLD.*

BY R. E. FORREST.

ISLAM has loomed large in the history of Europe. Christianity and Islam have furnished each other with the antagonism that kindles and keeps aglow religious zeal and inflames patriotism. There has been an enormous interchange of opprobrious epithets—"Christian dog," and "the false Mahound," and such-like. There has been warfare—sterner than that of words. The two met in conflict, when in each the strong feeling of its origin was still potent. Religions issue quietly from a previous religion, or are flung off from it by the force of a fierce repulsion. Such was the case with Islam ; therefore was it carried so quickly so far. To quote from the Syed's book, first notifying that it is made up of a "Series of Articles, Addresses, and Essays on Eastern Subjects," and that we shall not hesitate to bring together in one place extracts from more than one of them :

"The state of affairs in Pre-Islamic Arabia was far from satisfactory." "The polygamy uncontrolled by any sense of indecency, the recognition of polyandry or prostitution as a regular form of union, did not exhibit a very happy state of things. They appear to be just emerging from a condition of barbarism." "Such was the condition of Arabia when an event of great moment, which changed the history of the world, happened." Muhammad was

* "England and the Moslem World," by Syed H. R. Abdul Majid, LL.D. (York : The Yorkshire Printing Co., Ltd.).

born. "He sprang from the tribe of Qoraish, the most illustrious in Arabia—the hereditary guardians of the Caaba. During his youthful years he preached the religion called the Islam (the right path). He had to migrate to Medina. He had to fight the sanguinary battles of Beder, of Ohud, and of Khandaz." (The sword was the great weapon in the founding of the Faith as in its spread.) It was after the Prophet had "won the victory that led up to the submission of Mecca," that "the Muhammadan law replaced the idolatrous régime." Then came the first legislation, the first of the statutes and commandments, to use the words of Moses in the setting forth of the Ten Commandments called after his name, and on which the law of the new Arabian prophet was founded. In both codes the first, the primary statute, was the declaration of the One Sole God. The new Faith spread. Its formula of acceptance, its creed, was simple : God is the God, and Muhammad His Prophet.

The men of Arabia were a strong race—the prophet himself was noted as large-limbed. They showed it by going out from the secure, intimate haven of the native town or village, the native land, into the unknown, dangerous, outer realm of land and sea. They were the breeders and users of the camel and the horse, the builders and users of ships. They carried the Crescent far and wide. The area of the dominion of the Faith expanded fast. It extended soon over all the lands lying between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, between the east end of the Mediterranean and the western border of India. The Crescent usurped the place of the Cross in the most holy city of the latter, in sacred Jerusalem—and holds it still. The followers of the Prophet penetrated into China, into India, so that in the days of Aurangzeb the eastward-going traveller would pass from Aleppo to the mouth of the Ganges entirely through Moslem lands, and, taking ship there, sail to Moslem possessions in the Eastern Archipelago. In Africa the whole of the southern shore of the Roman Lake, the

Mediterranean, passed under Moslem sway. In Eastern Europe the Turks conquered Constantinople and extended their authority over the splendid stretch of land of the Balkans ; took Greece ; carried their arms to the gates of Vienna. In Western Europe the Moors conquered Spain up to its northern border. There, as in India, the followers of Muhammad have left splendid architectural monuments of their rule.

Then came a pause, a stop, a recession, loss instead of gain. The backward flow of the tide has continued ever since, to this very moment. In Asia, Samarkand, and Bokhara, so conspicuous in Persian poetry, have passed under Russian rule. In India the tide had its loftiest rise and quickest fall. Persia, which with Arabia may be held the native land of the Muhammadan, furnishing his native speech, where he has not remained a foreign intruder, as in India and in every part of Europe—Persia, the land of mirth, and pomp, and splendour, and romance, lies in the dust and ashes of powerlessness : “ to be weak is to be miserable.” In Africa there has been a continual loss of power in all the Moslem states. Morocco is now in the grasp of France, Tripoli in that of Italy. In Europe, after long occupation, long fierce struggles, the Moslem power finally lost all foothold in Spain, and in the region adjoining the great capital city on the Bosphorus and stretching away from it to the westward, Greece became free, and in the great area of the Balkans there was a continued curtailment of the power, of the extent of the dominion, of Turkey, and there would have been ere this time an extinguishment but for the rivalry of the great Powers, but for the might of England. But that must come ; the last Turkish official must pass over to Asia, out of Europe ; the pushing back has been continuous, and can end only that way. This is not the judgment of hope, or enmity, or desire, no more than would be the pronouncement that a great land-slide would find rest only in a new place and a new form.

What was the cause of that decline that has ended in

the once great and powerful empires of Persia and of Turkey now lying powerless at the feet of the European Powers? First and foremost, the cast-iron band of the Faith. It itself denoted a great advance, and yet it is held that it must now stand immovable. Without law is barbarism. But laws may become unsuitable. We must take thought of the time to which they were held suitable by the Divine Giver. Times change, things change, men change. You cannot confine man to his early and most useful flint implements, or his stone idols, which he held as implements too. One age is not like another. The strength of one may be the weakness of another. What was once a help may become a hindrance; what was once a support, an encumbrance. Like to this were the thoughts of the great King Akbar, as indicated by action and speech. He declared that he could not frame a right and proper policy for the government of his wide domain in India fettered and shackled by the injunctions of the Koran. The ecclesiastical lawyers pressed the injunctions on him. On that point they were distinct; they commanded to make a great slaughter of the unbelievers, to impose a special tax upon them. They were proclaimed, said Akbar, in far off times, with reference to small, savage and ferocious tribes and communities; were feasible there, and then; they were not proclaimed, with reference to a population such as that around him, peaceable and quiet cultivators of the soil, to be numbered by the million. How, why, slay all these? Why harm and harass and worry, and kill, or drive away the submissive, hard-working peasantry from which the State derived the bulk of its income? He desired to exercise a just and equal rule, and he was commanded to levy an iniquitous differentiating tax, even on the men who gave up half the produce of their lands. He desired to found his rule on the contentment of the people, its best and only safe foundation, and he was bidden injure them in mind, body, and estate. This was not good policy, could not be one acceptable to God.

But Akbar learnt, as did the Young Turks the other day, the might of an old-established, long-practised religion. He could not overcome it by direct attack. He had to circumvent it, use against it its own power. He obtained from an assembly of Mullahs and Mujtahids, the guardians of the Faith, a declaration that a just King was above the most eminent Mullahs and Mujtahids, and that Akbar was such a King. He thus got the supreme civil and the supreme religious power into his own hands. And as noble a memorial of his reign as any of his great edifices was the declaration made in an address to his son and successor by the great head of the Rajput chiefs, that under his illustrious predecessor—under Akbar—the people of the realm, of whatever creed or race, had enjoyed peace and happiness for fifty years. But Akbar's great-grandson took up the repudiated policy with a furious zeal, spent on it all his energies and the resources of the State, and from then began the downfall of the Muhammadan power in India.

The fatalism of Islam has engendered sloth, dignified carelessness, made heedlessness meritorious. Many of the dictates of the Koran, such as those respecting money, lending and trading in corn, have hampered commercial progress. In a paper reviewing the present condition of the remaining Turkish Balkan States it is said : " The Courts are just as corrupt as ever. Moreover, there is a tendency in many matters to introduce into the commercial courts the provisions of the *Sheri*, or sacred law, provisions which are, in some cases, quite alien to Western conceptions of justice."

The enormous importance set on the getting by heart of as much of the Koran as possible—of the whole, if possible—has had a great effect on education by the great consumption of time and brain-power it has entailed. The tax on the brain must be very great when the meaning of the words is not understood, as in so many, if not in far the larger number of, cases. There is the sacred Koran, with its huge mass of exegesis; then there are the

traditions, with their enormous bulk of statement, and proof, and dispute—the *Musnad*, or “Collection of Traditions,” which bears the name of Ahmad bin Hambal, extends over 2,800 pages of manuscript: these two supply the bulk of the teaching at the only seats of learning in the Moslem world. These are the Mudrasas, or Universities, like the Jama Azhar at Cairo, at which, we are told, “the books used are chiefly of a legal or religious character.” Apart from these, there is no education of a fixed and settled character, public or private. It is given, in varying grades, by the Munshis and Maulvis, the professional schoolmasters and teachers, who are of very varying qualifications. It was to this, their own ancient form of education, that the Muhammadans in India adhered for fifty years after the supreme power passed into our hands, though the Mogul King still continued to sit on the throne at Delhi—was retained on it by us. They refused to have anything to do with the system of education introduced by us, refused to learn the English tongue even. Resentment and wounded pride, religious and race antagonism, and feelings of that character, have been mentioned as accounting for this disdainful aloofness, and no doubt they all played their part; but we have never seen mention of a feeling, a hope, an expectation—strongly entertained so long as the monarch did occupy the throne at Delhi—of his recovery of his power. But now all that has passed away. The Muhammadans have struck out into the stream of English education, and with conspicuous success, as in the cases—to mention only the names at this moment under our eyes—of the author of this book and Abdulla Yusuf-Ali, writer of the excellent book, “Life and Labour of the People of India.” Consequently there has been a great and painful change in the condition of those formerly sole instructors—the Kazis and Maulvis, the men of the old learning—the market value of which has become so inconsiderable. Mr. Yusuf-Ali, in the work mentioned, adverts to this sad change most sympathetically

—it has often awakened our own commiseration—but he writes thus also: “They waste days and nights of deep study and silent meditation in trying to discover the meaning of old-world texts, plain and sound enough in their day, but now overlaid by the rust of ages, which it takes longer to remove than to construct a new system.” He makes mention of their very old, worm-eaten manuscripts, which we too have seen and handled. And Nawāb Sultan Jahan Begam, the present Ruler of Bhopal, in her remarkable book, “An Account of My Life,” writes of the “men of the old school, who looked askance at progress, and were inclined to eye with suspicion any form of education which went beyond teaching lads to learn by rote the oldest and mouldiest books which their ignorant and narrow-minded instructors could supply.”

It is not an observer of a long time ago, but one of to-day, who informs us that the great want in Turkey is “that of education and roads.”

The pushing too far of the much-needed command against the making of graven images has also shut the followers of the Prophet out from the two highest realms of Art, those of Painting and Sculpture, and thereby hindered the full use of the hands and eyes, the full play of the feelings and the intellect.

The too great weight laid on rites and ceremonies, on performances purely mechanical—as, for instance, ejaculating a verse of the Koran very many thousand times—has militated against morality by relegating it to a secondary place. The need for the injunction, “Cleanse your hearts and not your garments,” for the declaration that it was not what went into a man’s mouth but what came out of it that defiled him, the weight and boldness of them, can be felt and understood only by those who have resided in Eastern lands.

The great pronouncement of Muhammad against the drinking of wine has been flagrantly disregarded.

The harlot is with us, too, but she does not occupy an

open and accepted place in our social organization, does not make her appearance at social festivities in our houses, as she does in the Eastern lands.

Both Syed Abdul Majid and Abdullah Yusuf-Ali speak of the decline from the early character of Islam, from its "earnest, militant, puritanical spirit," from its high chivalry, its respect for women. With reference to India, the former says that "the rules of conduct lost their healthy tone towards the end of the Mogul Empire. With the weakness of the Central Government the Moslems, coming into contact with different civilizations, and born in the lap of luxury, became estranged from those virtues which characterized them. The degeneration had reached such a stage—perhaps because of their association with their Hindu compatriots—that one blushes even at its mention." And from the book of the latter we make the following extracts: "The stern, iconoclastic character of Arabian Islam has always been subordinated in India to the reverence for saints, and the embodiment of religious virtue in sacred persons and places."—"This being the case with the better-class Muhammadans, we can easily understand the extent of non-Moslem ideas in the life and religion of the lower-class Muhammadans."—"No wonder that the cynical remark should be common among Moslems who bewail the decline of true Islam in India: 'the bodies of Moslems are in their graves, and their religion is only in the books.'"

"The picture would be incomplete if it failed to indicate the healing tendencies." But we have to break off. We are not dealing with India alone, and we have already said that there the followers of the Prophet are doing something better than bewail, are exerting themselves, so as to command success, as exemplified in the case of these two books, the high position attained to by Mr. Amir Ali, and the success of the Aligarh College.

One of the leading causes of the decline in the Moslem states, to which we ought to have given an earlier place in our list, has been the close, nun-like seclusion of the women

of the better classes, by which they are confined to their own apartments, may not allow their faces to be seen by any men except those nearly related, may not, therefore, appear out of doors except with closely-covered face. This mode of life is called *Pardah*; the women leading it were originally termed *Pardah nashin*, "Sitters (behind) the *Pardah*," and the phrase was shortened. The two other words heard oftenest in this connection are the "harem" and the "zenana," which are very evil-sounding in many English ears, but which, corresponding exactly with *gynaiceum* or *gynécée*, simply denote the women's place, or quarter, not the wife's cage, for in it, beside the wife, may be sister, mother, grandmother, daughter, perchance widowed sister-in-law. English women writers often attribute the introduction and maintenance of the harem system wholly and solely to the tyranny, the cruelty, the brutality of man. But whatever his part, and to whatever due, circumstances have had their share, and a large one, as in the case of most institutions, in their rise and continuance too. There were times and places in which wives had to be sought for and fought for, and most carefully guarded, women being scarce, and not over-abundant as in the England of to-day. In Oriental lands there are plenty of places where, for long periods of the year, one has to pass most part of the day indoors; where a lady of the better classes would find her zenana infinitely preferable to the world without, with its heat and glare, its dust and flies, its evil smells. The roads and streets did not afford pleasant promenades, and were often unsafe. Then, besides the escape from physical discomforts and ills, and it may be dangers, there are the delights of the spirit; the knitting closer of the bonds of family life; the immunity from all the outside disturbing elements; the fret and fume, the bustle and jostle, the stings, the rebuffs, the jars, of the outer social and communal life. There was the deep, Nirvana-like calm and quiet of her own apartments, ever, by strongest social law, free from intrusion—"How sweet their calm retreat, how

full of rest"; there was the satisfaction, the divine relief, of occupying a superior position, the one most valued by the women of the Faith, the delight of segregation, of aloofness, of distinction, of being elevated above the vulgar throng; there was religious sentiment in the keeping of the Pardah, the sanctity it bestowed on their dwelling-place, on the zenana, made of it holy ground, in which no unauthorized foot dared intrude, made of it a sanctuary, an invaluable asset in rude and warlike times, bestowed a sanctity on their persons which made the preservation of their exalted modesty, of their personal dignity, a matter of supreme importance to their men-folk, even to the sacrificing of life for it. Of course, for all this a price had to be paid. It was a heavy price—the loss of freedom. Status always implies restriction and restraint, but here was a complete annulment of liberty. But this notwithstanding, the Pardah system is, for the reasons given above, so greatly prized by the women that, in most places—as in India, for instance—it is they and not the men, who are opposed to its abandonment.

Behind the Pardah have been lived numberless good and pleasant lives, have lived numberless gentle and sweet and loving and thoughtful and capable women; many a capable ruler of a household, many a capable ruler of a kingdom.

But the system has its many drawbacks. The cutting off of a large slice from the body politic must mean weakening or injury to that body. The removal or withdrawal into a strict isolation of all the women of the upper classes, young and old, must mean the deprivation of a full life both to the community and the women themselves. The guarding of the Pardah by the men means the enforcement of it too. It is an imprisonment—an imprisonment for life. A bride passes from the close confinement of her father's house to the close confinement of her husband's. And with the joint-family life of the upper classes she does not pass into the position of head of a house but into a subordinate one. To quote from Mr. A. Yusuf-Ali:

"From having been perhaps the pet of fond parents, she enters into the glare of a critical mother-in-law's observation and correction. She may not speak to her husband before other people. It is to her mother-in-law that she must bow the knee." Fierce contending emotions may rise to a great height in the narrow confines of the Zenana, as the fury of birds and animals is aroused to the utmost in pit or arena. A striking instance of this is to be found in the memoir lately published by the ruling Begam of Bhopal.

The complete exclusion of the women of the upper orders from the social intercourse, the hospitable meetings, the festive gatherings, of the men of those orders has been productive of much evil. If it arose in a rude, rough time its continuance has served to perpetuate those qualities. The women are wholly cut off from the society they are so specially fitted by Nature to enjoy, embellish, and improve, which would serve to expand and strengthen their own natures; society is deprived of a highly softening and refining element; the young men and women are robbed of that intercourse with one another, with those free of blood relationship, which is so delightful, so agreeable, so wished for, so natural, so wholesome; the young men are led to seek that companionship among women of a lower social rank, or among the courtesans, with very unbeneficial results to themselves and the race.

The evils of the harem expand as the harem itself expands. Then there are the many wives, and the additional concubines, and the multitude of serving-maids; then comes in the slave-girl and the loathsome eunuch, with all their baneful influences. The evils culminate in the case of the huge seraglio of the ruler of a nation. Then is there a canker at the heart of the body politic. The air reeks with the sensuality which often descends to lowest levels. The sanctity of the zenana is used as a shield or cover for gross misdeeds, for terrible crimes. When once established for two or three generations it becomes very difficult to effect

any alterations or improvements in it, from the number of sentiments and interests that come to be involved in it. The large splendour of it dazzles the eyes of the people. Its grandeur is their grandeur. The expenditure on this establishment becomes very great. Often it is lavish and profuse, most wasteful. It means a heavy drain on the resources of the state, and for no useful or worthy purpose. And this expenditure has to be kept up, has gone on through centuries. There has thus been an obvious large expenditure of state funds, and none of it on works of public utility—through all the centuries. No expenditure in help of commerce or industry, none for the betterment of the health of the people. By its scale the seraglio caused a great injury to the state. As the seraglio of the royal or reigning family, of the man who ruled the state, it sapped the vigour, the vitality of the nation. Let us here quote again a passage from Mr. A. Yusuf-Ali's ever-to-be-praised book. He speaks of those "zenana influences which make for softness and indecision of character," of that zenana "atmosphere of flattery and intrigue in which courtiers flourish at the expense of the cardinal virtues." It was not for the benefit of the empire, the nation, the state, that its future ruler should be brought up amidst throngs of pimps and panders and dissolute women, youthful page-boys, and eunuchs. For such a ruler, it is held, must be an absolute ruler. Says Syed Abdul Majid: "It is obligatory on the part of the people to give up the management of the general interests to the Caliph. Any opposition or separate action is forbidden, so that he may be able to safeguard the complex interests confided to him unfettered." "Many are the duties of the Caliph. He must defend the Faith, provide for the execution of judicial decisions, maintain order and public safety, protect life, honour of women, and property, in such a way that persons can go wherever they choose without any let or hindrance; apply the criminal laws, defend the frontier, and carry on wars. He is vested with the power

to collect taxes, alms, and escheats, regulate expenditure, and fix the salaries payable in time, neither in advance nor with delay. He is empowered to appoint the functionaries, and to look to the administration of finance." A youth spent in the zenana would not seem the best preparation for work such as this. But besides this, and more than this, the Caliph is the spiritual head of all in the state who are followers of the Prophet. "Does the Caliph represent God or the Prophet on earth?" The question is not put by the writer. It was one asked and considered among the Faithful themselves: in Islam, as in other religions, there are divergences of opinion upon the most fundamental points. It is copied, word for word, from Syed Abdul Majid's book. It is enough for us to state that the Caliph is the representative of the Prophet on the earth. He is the first Imam of Islam, he is the Guardian of the Caaba, he is Amir-ul-Momanin (Commander of the Faithful). In a most particular sense there was held to be about him "the divinity that doth hedge a king." Many of his duties were, and are, of a religious character. Thus, when the unexpected blow of Italy's attack on Tripoli fell so paralysingly on Turkey, the journals of Constantinople informed us that the Sultan had proceeded to say prayers in every mosque in the city, a lamb being sacrificed at each. The Pope of Rome blessed the outgoing Italian troops. We mention the two facts uncritically, merely in order to say that the regard of the Muhammadans for the sacred character of the Caliph is as great as that of the Catholics for the Pope. Their tie to him is of the strongest, over-riding all others. The exaltation of the supermundane character of the supreme personage in the state has tended to diminish thought and care and attention as regards affairs of the state in all below him; to lead them to be tolerant of faults in the administration; to hold them back from exercising the constitutional right of deposition up to the verge of ruin to the nation, when disorder, and disorganization, and corruption, prevail in every department, even in that of

finance, that of justice. The continued thought, the incessant care, the constant solicitude, the undeviating attention, the never-slacking diligence by which alone great states, kingdoms, and empires can be maintained, however they may have been founded, are not congenial in tropic lands; the climate is against them, the opposite of them is desired, to be as the gods having no care; they are the lands of indolence and ease, of dreamful ease and unconcern, of Nirvana, of invoking Jupiter rather than putting one's own shoulder to the wheel. "It is obligatory on the part of the people to give up the management of the general interests to the Caliph."—"In his political capacity the Sultan is *perfect*. *He can do no wrong*" (Syed Abdul Majid).

History repeats itself, often word for word. We have just been reading about the fall of great Byzantium. It is said that the fall was preluded by "general disorganization," and by "neglect of the Navy." We turn to a statement of the present helpless condition of Turkey, and there again are the self-same words, "general disorganization," and "neglect of the Navy."

Now we come to Syed Abdul Majid's book. All that we have written above has no counterpart in the book, no connection at all with the subjects of many of the seventeen papers which make up the volume—no seeming connection, but a fundamental one we ourselves think. That the decline of the Moslem power throughout the world should have no mention in any one of the six papers placed together under the heading "Political," that mention of it and consideration of its causes should have no place in them, seems to us remarkable. We can understand that the recognition of it must be painful, but without such recognition there can be no uprising. We will quote the passages which seem most to justify the somewhat misleading title:

"Out of true political considerations I would suggest that it will be a very wise step if an alliance between Turkey and England, the two great Muhammadan Powers, having millions of Muhammadans under their banners; Persia,

with her great traditions ; and warlike Afghanistan, and other Moslem countries, will greatly strengthen the hands of the British Government. By an alliance with Turkey she will keep Russia out of the Mediterranean ; by an alliance with Persia, from the Persian Gulf ; and by an alliance with the Afghans, from India."

"If their Majesties King Edward VII. and the Sultan of Turkey put their heads together, and if the Shah of Persia, the Ameer of Afghanistan, the Sultan of Morocco, and the Khedive of Egypt, are also consulted, reform is easy of accomplishment."

"Thus an alliance between England, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and Morocco, will be a statesmanlike act, and will have a great moral force with the Muhammadans, both of India as well as of the world."

Surely these extracts present rather an amazing valuation? Persia, at this moment, able to keep Russia from rolling onward to the Persian Gulf! Afghanistan able to keep Russia out of India! However valuable her alliance to us, we should hardly expect her to be able to do that. And Turkey to keep Russia out of the Mediterranean—Turkey, which at this moment is cut off from the Mediterranean herself, whose poor navy lies under the shelter of forts, surrounded by booms and barbed-wire entanglements! Pride is a fine quality, upraises, energizes ; but it may also be ludicrous, dangerous, blinding the eyes ; "pride goeth before a fall, and a haughty spirit before destruction." Only the other day the leading journal of Constantinople warned its readers against that haughty spirit. In the above passages, as in many others, Syed Abdul Majid seems to us to display a large complacency. His threats and warnings and admonitions to the English Government are amusing. But we will not hunt these up ; we much prefer to bring together two passages from the paper headed "England and Modern India" :

"You must do something wiser ; you must treat the Indians as *true comrades*."

"This accomplished, the Empire will attain to a solidarity not even attained to by the Roman Empire. . . ." "And not only the Britons but also the Britishers shall rule the waves, and shall never be slaves."

From a paper on "Education in the East" we quote the following passage: "One might ask himself what should be done to educate the Moslems for the changed affairs of the world. Their ethical teachings, their religious system, are splendid, and they need no modification. What is needed is the training of their intellect for secular purposes." Against the high satisfaction with the religious system we have nothing to say. But there is not one single, solid system; but a system divided into many parts. There are the two main systems, fiercely antagonistic, of Shia and Sunni, as in the Christian Church are the two main divisions of Eastern and Western, not founded, in any case, on small, immaterial matters, but on fundamental questions, such as those affecting the nature of the Diety. As in the Christian Church there are a great many minor sects. One would expect these in Islam in which there were four sources of the law—(1) the Koran, (2) the Hadith (Traditions), as main supreme ones; then (3) the Ijma-e-ommat (consensus of all), and (4) the "analogical reasoning" of the jurist, as minor and supplementary ones, whose validity was often questioned. In connection with the Koran is a vast mass of commentary and interpretation. The bulk of the Traditions is huge; with regard to them was the preliminary question as to their genuineness: "There sprang into existence a great many traditions of doubtful authenticity. Omar was compelled to intervene and stop their collection for a time. But the tide of the study of tradition, stemmed for a time, rolled on as time went on." There was plenty of room for the ingenuity of the ecclesiastical lawyers, and every point had its difference of opinion. And as it was then, so is it now. Among the chief events in the political world during the past few years have been—(1) the deposition of the Sultan of Turkey and

the placing of another member of the house in his place ; and (2) the introduction of representative bodies into the machinery of government in Turkey and Persia, where they are spoken of as Parliaments, and into India, where they are termed Councils. Each of these four things has been the subject of dispute among the ecclesiastical lawyers, the jurists, of Islam. We quote from Syed Abdul Majid : " Three questions present themselves : First, whether the constitutional form of government in Turkey or Persia is consistent with Islamic principles ; secondly, if the present Sultan of Turkey succeeded to the Caliphate ; lastly, what value can be attached to the separate electorate given to the Muhammadans in the reforms just introduced in India."

For the full discussion of the matter we must refer the reader to Mr. Abdul Majid's book itself. We can only remark on a point or two. It is said : " Pure democracy being the principle underlying the whole system, Islam cannot but recognize any government as fitting which aims at furthering the cause of the people. The constitutional form of government as it exists in Turkey or Persia is fully supported by Islam." But it has only just been introduced so many centuries after the beginning of Islam, by revolution, not by consensus of the will of the people, rather the other way. Syed Abdul Majid praises the " Young Turk " party and says of the " New Régime " that " no apprehension should be entertained regarding its lasting character." But at the moment that we write the Old Régime seems on the point of being re-introduced and the New Régime and its introducers swept away.

Something must be said about the general proposition set forward in the first paragraph of the above extract. " It is now easy to see that the Moslem constitutional theory is based upon the considerations of democracy. The Caliphate is controlled by the principle of election. The Caliph has to be elected, and is bound to act in conformity with certain principles, the non-observance of which deprives him of the right to command obedience."

This is clear-cut. But we are told also that besides election there is "nomination by the preceding Caliph." This, if carried on, would introduce a hereditary principle. There are many disputed points. "The orthodox school confines the Caliphate to the tribe of Qaraish." "The Shias declare that a Caliph must also be of the house of Muhammad." "Those of the Matazela and Kharajaite schools throw it open to all Moslems." And as to the election, the question arises, "Who is to elect?" Diversity of opinion exists as to the number of electors. One school lays it down "that all capable of entering into contractual obligations should take part in the election. . . ." "The other school limits the number of electors to five. . . ." "Those who represent the school of Kufa limit the number to three." "There are others who take the extreme view, and reduce the number of electors to the convenient number of one." Sydney Smith said a lady was so fat that whenever he looked at her he felt inclined to call in the police to disperse her. But one does not really make a multitude, nor can election by one single person be called democratic. The fact is, Syed Abdul Majid is led away by his desire to prove that new institutions are in accord with old principles. In India the Muhammadans could not have held aloof from the new elective councils without suffering political extinction. The logic of facts has to be accepted. Circumstances rule. But the Syed tells us that "it would really have been a great loss to India if no provision were made to insure the return of the Moslem element to the Council. The advantages of the association of the Moslems with their ideals adapted to the present condition of India would have been denied to the Assembly," and we quite agree with him. We would quote here some passages from Abdullah Yusuf-Ali's book : "There were two elements of failure in the otherwise admirable institutions granted by the Ottomans. One was the weakness of machinery and the laxness of methods. . . . The other was the omission of a supply of safety-valves to

facilitate automatic expansion and development, and to bring an ancient civilization gradually into line with modern ideas." That is a valuable sentence.

To return to the book under review.

This similarity of subject has carried us on from the first question to the third. The second remains. With regard to it "there appears conflict of views. Some Indian Moslems do not regard the Caliphate in the person of the ex-Sultan as at an end, and maintain that he continues as Caliph *de jura*. In Turkey the authority of the Sheikh-ul-Islam sets it at rest. He regards the Caliphate of the ex-Sultan as forfeited owing to his conduct in the past." Thus, then, the answer to the questions is: Question 1, Yes; Question 2, Yes; Question 3. "It is premature to pass any definite opinion," Syed Abdul Majid says. He does not allude to the loss to the Moslems themselves from their keeping outside the new elected councils, but dwells only, as in the passage above, on the loss to others.

Two of the papers making up the volume were read before the East India Association, and first saw the light in these pages. The papers are of greatly different lengths, and of varying degrees of merit; but all of good value, for Syed Abdul Majid has been baptized in the waters of Eastern and Western culture both. His book has an interest on this account apart from the interest and importance of the subjects dealt with, because it sets forth the result of that admixture, reflects its effects on mind and character. With regard to that conjunction we will give here the two quotations prefixed to the paper on "Education in the East":

"Seek learning even though it may be in China."

MUHAMMAD.

"There is no darkness but ignorance."

"Twelfth Night," Act IV., Sc. 2.

That juxtaposition is to us indicative of much.

The book is divided into three sections—political, legal, and social. The legal section exhibits wide reading and

full command of the subject. Mr. Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D. is a Lecturer in Muhammadan Law. His style is clear, fluent, and he has a good vocabulary ; but his construction is often faulty, as may be seen from the quotations given, and current set phrases are sometimes misapprehended or misapplied, as in the following short sentence, for instance : "Zenana, or harem, means pure and simple, a place where ladies live." The writer's large and varied store of learning may have affected the movements of his pen.

Finally, we would commend these papers, which the writer has done well to publish, not only to those who have a special interest and concern in the East, but to the general reader as well.

We would append to the above the following item of news from Teheran (July 28): "It is reported that the Mullahs are preaching in the mosques against the Constitutional Government." They seem to differ in their opinion from Syed Abdul Majid.

THE ARABIC LANGUAGE QUESTION IN EGYPT.

BY "ARIF."

THE following article deals with a question which, considering its importance, has attracted too little attention on the part of the numerous writers who have dealt with the problems of Modern Egypt. The phenomenon of a nation possessing two different idioms, the one for conversation and the other for literary purposes, is one by no means confined to Egypt, and for that very reason possesses a more general interest, because this duality of language not improbably accounts for the intellectual unproductiveness which characterizes so many Oriental and some European nations. Those who have wondered at the sterile results of vernacular education in those countries will, perhaps, not be surprised when they realize the handicap imposed by a traditional written idiom which is no longer the spoken language of the country.

In Egypt there are two languages : one the language of conversation (*Arabi dârig*), the other that of literature and oratory (*Arabi fasîh*). The first is a Neo-Arabic language, bearing the same relation to classical Arabic that Italian bears to Latin, or Modern to Ancient Greek. The use of this vernacular is absolutely banned in literature, it being regarded as a base and vulgar idiom, incapable of literary expression, much as Italian was before Dante wrote his

"Inferno," and justified its use in his "Convito." Every Egyptian who would be considered educated must acquire the written language, a semi-classical idiom which differs very considerably from the vernacular, both as regards grammar and vocabulary.

The practical disadvantages of thus having two languages are very great. Further, it is hard for us to understand how a people can come to have such a contempt for the tongue which they use in their daily intercourse, and which, in any other country, would have been endeared to them by a thousand associations. Least of all can we understand that the favoured and universally accepted substitute for this mother-tongue should be an artificial language which only lives in books and formal speeches—which is acquired, not in the home, but in the schoolroom.

Before proceeding further, however, with the discussion of this question, it may be well to offer a few words of explanation—we would readily call it apology—to those Egyptians who may happen to read these pages. Nations are inclined to be sensitive about their language, and to resent the comments of a stranger. However qualified the critic may be on account of his literary and philological attainments, the question is considered as being outside his competence. No more qualified authority on the Arabic language could be found than Judge Willmore,* yet his opinions on the Egyptian language question, so ably expressed in the preface to his Grammar, were received with scant courtesy by the native Press. It may therefore be as well to state that the writer of the present article gives his opinion with every deference, with full consciousness of his own limitations, and, above all, with no desire to offend the religious prejudices of those

* Mr. Willmore, formerly Judge of the Native Court of Appeal in Egypt, is the author of a Grammar of the spoken Arabic of Egypt, which is by far the most valuable non-political work that any Anglo-Egyptian official has contributed to the literature concerning that country.

who might be inclined to construe any criticism of the written Arabic language into an attack on the Koran. We are studying Egyptian problems as a European writing for Europeans. The Egyptian language question is one of the most interesting, as it is one of the most vital of those problems, and cannot be ignored by any writer on Egypt. At the same time, the opinion expressed is purely platonic, and Egyptians may rest assured that this, at any rate, is a problem the solution of which will be left entirely to themselves.

First among the disadvantages arising out of this duality of language is the effect produced upon education. The child, struggling to unlearn every familiar word and to remember its literary equivalent, learning out of textbooks which it is a lesson in itself to understand, has a large part of his mental energy diverted from the understanding of facts, which is, after all, the main object of his education, to the understanding of words. Just think how the difficulties of an English child would be increased, if, in our textbooks, words like "steed," "hound," "occiput," were invariably substituted for "horse," "dog," "head," etc., and all words were written in their Chaucerian instead of their modern form! Egyptians themselves often acknowledge that too many boys, on leaving school, are unable to write a correct letter or essay, a charge which could hardly ever be brought against any decently educated schoolboy in Europe. It is clear, then, that ten years of school are not enough to master this dead language.

Secondly, there can be no greater check on the diffusion of knowledge among the masses than the existence of a separate written idiom. The difficulty of reading and understanding what is read is sufficiently great to deter the majority from opening a book at all. This must especially be the case with the lower classes, who mostly leave school after completing only an elementary course. The existence of popular textbooks on practical subjects, one of the most effective means of spreading knowledge and of improving

the well-being of the people in Europe, is, of course, rendered impossible. The prejudice against employing the common terms for things would be too strong even for the writer of an agricultural primer. So ingrained is this prejudice in the minds of the educated classes that police officers taking down evidence from the mouth of a witness will convert the words actually spoken into their literary equivalents.

This strangely unpractical devotion to a dead language is found in many Asiatic countries, with its invariable accompaniments of mental and material stagnation. It can be paralleled, so far as we know, from only two countries in Europe—Turkey and Greece. As examples of how far practical usefulness can be sacrificed to a literary tradition, the following cases may serve. In Turkey, a few years ago, handbooks for police constables were issued in literary Turkish, a language which is “Greek” to the poor Turkish policeman. In Greece, an eminent doctor, commissioned by the Government to prepare a few simple instructions teaching peasants how to combat malaria, drafted them in a language which might have been understood by Hippocrates, but certainly was not by the peasants, for whom they were intended. So it is in Egypt, and will be, as long as the present tradition lasts.

The effect on literature is hardly less deplorable. A highly classical style and an archaic diction, which remove the work from the comprehension of the vulgar, are regarded as merits in an Egyptian writer. The possession of a “fine style” is too often synonymous with being unintelligible to all except the most educated readers. Language and not matter becomes the all-important. Egyptian literature, in short, is intended for the few, and its use as a means for spreading knowledge among the people is ignored. Not a book, not a newspaper article is published which is not an effort for all, excepting an educated minority, to understand.

The only remedy which can bring about a real improve-

ment in the mental development of the Egyptian nation is the adoption of the spoken language as the language of writing, and the creation of a vernacular literature. Such a change would be unfavourably received by the learned, the sheikhs, lawyers, and professional letter-writers, to whom the existence of the present written language is, or rather appears to be, an advantage. The arguments advanced against any such innovation are of the most various kinds. Some plead the poverty of the spoken language, and its unsuitability for literary purposes. Others deny its title to be called a language and degrade it to the rank of a mere patois. All these arguments are usually based on a complete ignorance of the laws of philology and the history of other languages.

The retention of the written idiom is advocated on a variety of grounds—literary, political, religious. The elusive nature of the arguments brought forward will, perhaps, be best represented in an imaginary dialogue between a sheikh and an English critic. The writer has had many such.

SHEIKH. "Do you propose, sir, that we should write the common language, the *Arabi dârig*? But that is impossible. It is not Arabic, it is not a language; it is a corruption of a language. It has no grammar. It is not fit to be used by educated people."

CRITIC. "I will take your points one by one. You say the spoken language is not Arabic? Let us be quite clear about terms. If by Arabic you mean the classical idiom, then of course modern Egyptian is not Arabic. It is no more Arabic than Italian is Latin. But all the same, it is *an* Arabic language, just as French or Italian are Latin languages. However, in order to avoid confusion, I will refer to it in the future as 'Egyptian.'

"Your next point is that it is a mere corruption of a language. I prefer the word 'development.' Of course, it is all the same really, but corruption contains a suggestion of censure. Everything in the world is in a

state of constant decomposition and renewal—if you have studied philosophy at the Azhar, you have probably heard of the old Greek theory of flux. Language is no exception to this rule. Take any word in any language to-day, and, from the point of view of the same language a few centuries before, it is a barbarism which would have made the delicate in such matters shudder. Call Egyptian corrupt, if you like, but do not imagine that the epithet implies anything discreditable or exceptional among languages.

“You said that Egyptian has no grammar. I cannot allow that. Every language must have a grammar to be spoken at all. Do you mean to say that it is just the same whether I say ‘*Il Sheikh akal il samak*’ (The Sheikh ate the fish), or ‘*Il samak akal il Sheikh*’ (The fish ate the Sheikh)? The grammar of a language which is hardly written or not at all, fluctuates more than that of a language which has a large literature. But no language can exist as a medium for communicating thought unless it has fixed rules which make it understandable—that is, a grammar.

“No, Sheikh, not one of the charges you have brought against Egyptian but would condemn every other spoken language in the world, and brand as vulgar and corrupt words which have endeared themselves to several generations of Frenchmen and Italians. One of our professors has written a book called ‘*The Science of Language.*’ Read it, and you will see how languages, your own included, are formed.”

SHEIKH. “Well, you may be right. I have not studied comparative philology. They do not teach these things at the Azhar, nor in the schools of the Government. But, sir, I think that in any country people do not write as they speak. Surely in England educated men do not write like that? In speaking, one uses many vulgar expressions which are not to be written.”

CRITIC. “I do not deny that in our country there is a certain difference between the language of conversation

and that of literature, but it is a difference of style rather than of language. A 'horse' is always a 'horse,' whether I am conversing with a friend or writing an article in the *Times*. With you it becomes a 'steed' as soon as you put pen to paper.

"Of course one must distinguish between ordinary conversational language and slang. Unless an Englishman were consciously imitating the speech of the common people, he would never write such a common phrase as 'He gave him a crack on the nut.' He would write that 'He hit him on the head,' which is exactly the ordinary polite way of putting it in speech. Egyptian, doubtless, has its slang, like every other language: I do not suggest that you should write *that*. But surely you are not prepared to say that the language of ordinary intercourse in Egypt is no better than slang?"

SHEIKH. "But why should we not try to go back to the classical Arabic? It is more beautiful, and purer than the language we speak now. Egyptian is full of foreign words—Turkish, Italian, I know not what. In the Ministries, the clerks learn to translate French idioms into Arabic. We must teach our people to use only words of Arabic origin."

CRITIC. "I cannot judge whether classical Arabic is more beautiful than Egyptian. Anyhow, that is probably a question of taste. But, if purity of language is what you seek after, then know that you are pursuing a will-o'-the-wisp. Do you think that the old Arabic was pure? Do you imagine that the Arabs who traded with every part of the Orient, who fought with the Abyssinians, the Greeks, and the Persians, had no foreign words in their language? For a language to contain many foreign words is evidence that the nation which speaks it has had an eventful history, that it has exchanged ideas and commodities with the other nations of the world. Purity of language, on the contrary, is a sign that it is a nation without a history, that it has led a dull and exclusive existence—the existence of a

tribe of Esquimaux or Central African Pygmies. Why wish to uproot from the Arabic language words which are the memorials of many vicissitudes, but also of many glories?

"You dislike foreign idioms. In language, as in law, the best standard of legality is use. A foreign word which is in common use is no longer foreign, it has become part of the language. I will give you an example from Italian. The Germans have a word *Gegend*, meaning 'country,' 'region,' derived from *gegen*, 'opposite,' because a country is that which lies opposite, which meets the eye. When the Germans invaded Italy and settled there, they found themselves surrounded by a Latin-speaking race, so they tried to speak Latin, and, like all people who speak a foreign language, they often translated idioms which were peculiar to their mother-tongue. Thus, when they wanted to speak of a 'country,' they said *contrata* (from the Latin *contra* = opposite), coining the word on the analogy of their own word *Gegend*. To-day you have the word *contrada* (our word 'country'), which is as good Italian as the most aristocratically descended word of pure Latin origin."

SHEIKH. "Sir, what you say is true. Perhaps, for the reasons which you have stated, there would be no harm in writing the Egyptian language. But it cannot be. We cannot give up the written language, because it is the language of the Koran, and if our children do not learn to write it, the study of the Koran will suffer."

CRITIC. "Come, Sheikh, you will not maintain that the Arabic you write to-day—the Arabic of newspapers and books—is Koranic Arabic? The grammar may be mainly the same, but there is an enormous difference as regards style and vocabulary. The written Arabic of to-day is as different from that of classical times as the sorry language of a modern Athenian writer is from the Attic of Xenophon.

"But, even if spoken Egyptian becomes the language of writing, what is to prevent your keeping up the Arabic of the Koran? In the village schools the children can still

learn it by heart. In the other schools you can continue to teach it, as we teach classics in England. It has long been considered part of the accomplishments of an English gentleman to write verse and prose in correct Latin and Greek. You have much stronger reasons for making a sound knowledge of classical Arabic a necessary accomplishment of every educated Egyptian."

SHEIKH. "There is another reason why we should maintain the use of the present written idiom. In Syria, in Morocco, in Egypt they speak different languages, different varieties of Arabic. Here in Egypt we say *esh* for 'bread': in Syria they say *khubbz*. But in all these countries one language is written only. A book or newspaper published in Egypt is understood at Fez and at Beyrout. But, if we begin to write the spoken Egyptian, the Syrians and the Moors will find it hard to understand us, and little by little, as the differences become greater, they will not understand us at all. The Arabic language, as now written, unites the people of Islam. Remove it, and the union of Islam disappears."

CRITIC. "I find it hard to believe that the unity of Islam depends on the maintenance of a single Arabic written idiom in all those countries where Arabic is spoken or studied. There was a time when everybody in Europe who wrote at all wrote in Latin. Yet it did not have the effect of uniting all the nations of Christendom, except, perhaps, superficially."

"Sheikh, I have no business to lecture you in these matters; but it seems to me that the unity of Islam depends not on the Arabic language, but on the grand simplicity of its creed and the uniformity of its religious ceremonies—on the fact that five times a day, whether on the shores of the Bosphorus, the banks of the Nile, under the shadow of the Atlas, or amid the rose gardens of Ispahan, the muezzin proclaims the Unity of God from the minaret of the mosque: that the Moslem pilgrim who sets out from Morocco or Mongolia across vast distances on his journey to the Holy

Cities of Islam, is hailed in each country which he traverses with the same form of mutual greeting between True Believers.* These things, part of the daily life of all Moslems, learned and ignorant alike, are a far stronger bond than an artificial language which a few can read, still fewer can write, and the great majority cannot understand.

"To my mind there is no reason why the dialects of Egypt, Syria, or Morocco, should not be elevated to the rank of written languages with as good results as those produced by the substitution of the Romance languages for Latin. Reasoning by analogy, we may safely predict that the result would be an enormous spread of knowledge among the people of those countries, and the rise of a more original and more permanent literature, without in any way impairing the respect in which the Koran and the Arabic classics are at present held.

"No one can maintain that the diffusion of knowledge in Europe has suffered since Latin has ceased to be the common language of the educated. The fact that an Englishman or a Frenchman to-day addresses himself intelligibly to millions of his countrymen where before he could only be understood by an élite of scholars, scattered over Europe, more than compensates for any extra labour involved in translating works of science for the benefit of foreign readers.

"A dead language, like Latin, though not without its practical value as a common medium of correspondence, could never give rise to a great literature. The historian and the novelist who wish to excite the interest of their readers—still more the poet, the dramatist and the orator, who appeal to the feelings—can only succeed in their object if they speak in the tongue which is familiar to all from childhood, the language of the home and of daily intercourse—if they use the common words in which everyone

* Is-salam aleikum.

is accustomed to express joy, sorrow, and all the other emotions of life.

“What would the world not have lost if the Romance languages had never been deemed worthy of becoming vehicles of literary expression? Men of letters would, doubtless, have continued to attain a certain celebrity, according to the purity of their Latin, their mastery of Ciceronian eloquence, or their happiness of Horatian wit. Men like Scaliger and Salmasius would have set the standard of literary excellence. But no Dante would have inspired the Italian people, Spain would not have laughed and wept alternately over the adventures of Don Quixote, Portugal would not have sighed over the epic of Camoens, nor France been delighted by the plays of Molière.

“Apparently the writers of Egypt do not aspire to the fame and influence of a Dante or a Cervantes. They prefer the satisfaction of knowing that their works can be read by a narrow circle of the educated at Cairo, Beyrout, Algiers, or Bagdad. They do not, it seems, covet the position of national writers, addressing their own people in the living language of their country. The task of edifying and amusing the masses is still to be left undisputed to the unknown authors of *Antar*, of *Abu Zeid*, and of *El Zâhir Beibars*.*

* These are very old epics, partly in prose and partly in verse, which are recited by professional minstrels, like the Homeric rhapsodies. Eager throngs of the common people may be seen any day listening to these truly national epics in the cafés of the native quarter, or on the Kara Meidan, in Cairo.

It may here be noted that a vernacular Arabic literature had begun to spring up in Andalusia, but had no time to develop. In Egypt an attempt was made at the end of last century by a certain Osman Gallal, who published some first-rate adaptations of Molière's plays in spoken Egyptian Arabic. He was right to begin with the drama. One must begin by amusing people before one attempts to instruct them. And yet any attempt to have Osman Gallal read in the schools would probably raise a howl of protest.

Egyptians who find difficulty in believing that their vernacular can ever become a literary language should read Dante's "*Convito*," in which he explains why he wrote his poems in Italian instead of Latin.

“How long the present contempt for the spoken language will continue, we cannot tell. Of one thing we may be certain—that the day on which the common sense of the nation rebels against this attitude will see a great Renaissance, a great development of knowledge and literature among the Egyptian people.”

JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

NO. XVIII.—THE KURIL ISLANDS, CALLED BY THE
JAPANESE CHISHIMA.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

THE history of Yeso, Krafto, and the Kuril Islands is more or less contemporary. Accounts given by Dutch navigators prove that the Eastern or "Hairy Savage" overran those three distinct, but adjacent, possessions that are now in the hands of the Japanese.

After the raids and petty wars organized by the hairy Ainu upon Japan in the early centuries, the savages were forced back to their northern homes by the ancestors of those now constituting the Japanese nation, and the invaders were forced to abandon their intentions, for the tide of combat turned, and a somewhat speedy retreat was necessary. It was then that the Ainu spread hither and thither, slowly populating one island after another. But these aborigines were few in number, and for this reason crippled in the little spirit of enterprise that was left after many failures.

It was early in the seventeenth century that these extreme northern islands came into prominence from a geographical and historical point of view. Previous to A.D. 1615, although islands were known to exist, neither accurate information or reliable maps were available to guide the mariners safely through their dangerous undertakings. In Professor P. F. von Siebold's book dealing with *The voyage*

of *Commander Maerten Gerrits Vries of the flute Castricum* in A. D. 1643, many interesting details of the finding of Yezo will be seen. Commander Vries navigated the northern latitudes east of Japan, and is credited with having discovered Yezo and the Kuriles in the summer of the year above mentioned. For this reason his name will ever take the lead. His success in navigating those regions which now constitute *The Northern Circuit of Japan* has been recorded in the most excellent narrative, prepared with much care, from the long-missing journal of the famous Dutch navigator. Professor P. B. von Siebold's work was translated from the original Dutch language (in which it was first written) by F. M. Cowan, interpreter to the British Consulate-General in Japan, and was published in Amsterdam in the year 1859.

Upon the chart given in this work many valuable remarks are stated. Altogether the information contained in this publication is highly valuable to all who are now seeking knowledge concerning this out-of-the-way extremity of Japan's possessions. Together with the name of Commander Vries will be associated those of Broughton, Lapérouse, Laxmann, Captain Golownin, and others, whose labours have been immortalized by bay, cape, river, and island bearing their names as lasting witness of their adventures and discoveries.

Their love of enterprise must indeed have been amply satisfied, for each island and tract of land, each creek and bay sighted, presented varied aspects of beauty or solemnity. Moreover, the aborigines, though somewhat fearsome in appearance, proved a peaceful and gentle community, not in the least given to combativeness, nor cannibal in their requirements; but, on the contrary, erring on the side of inaction, ready to yield to strangers, and fully confident in appreciating friendly intercourse. If the inhabitants of these island homes were few, the seaboard presented a lively spectacle. Mammals were plentiful, fish abundant, and birds of many species restless and numerous.

The first visit undertaken by the Dutch navigator was made in June, A.D. 1615, luckily the best and warmest month of the year.

Other records state that parts of Yeso had been known earlier, but the waters were difficult to traverse in the frail boats that were then employed, and the only point was the Bay of Laxmann, which at one time constituted the sole sea-road known for communication between Yeso and the Kuriles. This route was the one taken as a means of commercial intercourse by those who for the time being were isolated from the adjacent lands, and without other friendly assistance.

The group under consideration is known to Europeans and Americans as the Kuriles; to the Asiatics as CHISHIMA. It consists of about sixteen chief islands, of various areas, which number in all thirty-two tracts of land, large and small. Among the greater islands many volcanic mountains are distributed. This feature has earned for the Kuriles the name of *The Smokers*. This synonym is of Chinese origin. Hundreds of volcanoes are distributed throughout Japan; some are still active, some quiescent, lying couchant, ready to spring into violent restlessness, to erupt at any moment. Others lie hidden and "dead"; their work seems ended, their internal fires burnt out, their birth unchronicled by man during the dim crepuscular beginnings of creation, their upheavals and extinctions like unto those mighty mountains, science has revealed to us in far-distant planetary systems. Over many of Japan's mighty, but still monarchical mountains Nature has been at work. She has revered their past glory, and lovingly healed their gaping scars with floral tributes; for wreaths of flowers, moss, and lichen have been content to feed and thrive on the meagre nourishment of ash-strewn tracts and crumbling lava deposits, seeming by their presence to steady the fierce passions that in the past shook the incandescent hearts of Giant Triumphs.

It is said that nearly two-thirds of Japan is mountainous ; therefore we are not surprised to find volcanic upheavals in her outlying fringe of islands, many of which are the consequence of seismic and underground, or rather under-sea, disturbances. For, alas ! even quiescence is not always reliable; solfataras break out at intervals in still mountain sides, sending forth deleterious steam and sulphurous odours far and near. Many islands rise for a time and again disappear from sight in the extreme limit of the East Pacific.

In the Kuriles there are several active burning mountains. The Kunashiri cone rises 7,000 feet. This is tapped by several uncertain and unsteady solfataras. Rusunobori is another volcano on the south-east coast ; this rises 3,005 feet. Ponnobori Yama, Chacha-nobori, Ruruidate ; this last contains a peak within a peak. In Etorofu is Ootoska nobori,* which is nearly 4,000 feet. In the Island of Shana another active burning mountain stands 5,009 feet. This is named Chiriponopari. There are others of less magnitude, respectively called Mokoro Nobori, 3,930 feet, and Atui-yadake, 3,932 feet.

Hot springs abound of various temperatures, even as high as 111° F. ; hollows of rocks and low ledges make excellent bathing accommodation. Kunashir is rich in boiling springs, also Ushishir and Yetorup and other islands large and small.

For this reason we may imagine that earthquake shocks are very frequent ; too much so to strike terror in the hearts of the inhabitants or even the wild families of birds and mammals, that love their storm-ridden homes, in which at least they feel pretty safe from the gun of the hunter if not from the wild convulsions of Nature. Here the solitude is relieved and the landscapes are graced with the flight of birds in incessant motion.

* *Nobori*, take, or dake. *Yama* and *san* stand for mountain or peak. Thus Fuji san, Peerless mountain. Ruruidate, a protected mountain, a rampart protecting the inner peak. Chacha-nobori, the mountain near the coast one sees on arrival.

According to the latest accounts, the Chinese, the Russians, and the Japanese have at one time or another laid claim to this group, accounting it part of their several territories, holding the aborigines and settlers to obedience, and forcing stringent laws upon them when necessity arose. The supervision was at times arbitrary in the extreme.

Apart from the observations of Commander Vries and others who followed his example, and who during the seventeenth century were fired with the spirit of venture, information is hard to obtain. In fact, so little attention did the Kuriles attract, that it was not until the year 1875 that they were brought into any degree of prominence. This was owing to a treaty that was entered into between Japan and Russia. It was then proposed that Japan should give up her rights to the southern portion of Saghalien, known as Krafto, which was, at that time, her most northerly possession. In exchange for this concession Russia relinquished all claim, real or disputed, to the Kuriles. These had not been officially explored, and were said to be before that date the goal of excommunicated criminals of the great Asiatic continent of Russia.

Severity of climate, together with the isolated position, seemed well adapted for the requirements of the punitive law. Fierce, ungovernable natures languished in captivity and in iron bondage, till death released them from remorse and misery. At the time of the exchange negotiations, we may gather that the Russians considered Chishima altogether their own, and ignored the rights of any other nation to their occupation. Anyhow, Japan was not in a position to decline the proposal. She accepted the exchange and text of the preamble with a good grace, weighing the matter well, and looking to the future possibilities of her diplomats and armies, which were ultimately rewarded. In 1905, after the Japanese war with Russia, the southern half of Saghalien was re-ceded and restored as part of the war indemnity. Thus the Kuriles as well as

Krafto passed irrevocably into the possession of Japan. Although the whole of Saghalien was yearned for, failing to obtain so great a prize, Japan comforted herself with Krafto only, in remembrance that above the 50 degree latitudes the *Sakura-no-ki* (cherry-trees) would not flourish.

The Kuriles are marked on the official maps as follows. They are divided from the touch of Kamchatka by the Chishima Straits. They depend just below Petropavilsko, which is Russian territory :

ARIAD (this is a small island), SHUMUSHI (a little larger), PARAMOSHI or PARAMUSHIRO (which is one of the largest), ONNEKOTAN, SHUSHIKOTAN, SHUNSHIRU, SHIKOTAN, and URUP. Below these are the Straits of *Yetrop*. YETROP or ETORUP. This is the largest island of all, and has been visited by Captain Snow and other foreigners. Then follows SHANA, Rubetsu Prefecture. Below these the Tanse moi Straits will be seen. KUNASHIRO, a fair size. SHIKOTAN. TOMARI; this has a lighthouse. NEMURO, where another lighthouse watches over the straits of the same name.*

The Kuriles tend in position towards Karafuto from latitudes 155°, 144', longitudes 156°-8', and incline north-west to north-east. They hem in the Sea of Okhotsk. Their total area is measured from between 4,900 to 5,000-5,720 square miles. The whole chain is more or less mountainous, though all are not volcanic. The highest peaks measure from 12,000 to 15,000 feet. Dense, though stunted forests, rich in verdure, lie at the bases of the elevations. Occasional luxuriance is to be met with, owing to the warm fog-banks that lie over the timbered lands, causing almost tropical vegetation to thrive in its own peculiar manner.

* This list of names is given from the map of Japan presented in the *Times* supplement, July, 1910, published during the Japan-British Exhibition. This is the latest available information of disposal of islands. They are, however, known and called by older names by various authors.

The forests are hardly yet in a workable condition, owing, like many other of Japan's possessions, to their primeval state, and want of attention. Roads have not yet been planned or laid. This disadvantage, together with the scarcity of any mechanical appliance for the transit of heavy haulage, delays progress. Nevertheless it is estimated, that, when proper care and attention are directed to the cultivation and growth, the thinning and pruning of the forests, they will prove a mine of wealth. Moreover, it has been stated that when active organization commences (which the Japanese can so well undertake), there will be found sufficient timber to amply supply the needs and requirements of the Empire from the Kuriles alone !

This important industry is, however, hampered by an insurmountable hindrance of a very serious nature—viz., the intense cold and severity of the climate, of fierce and continual tempests raging for months at a time. During this revelry of Nature, the aborigines even are forced to remain idle and inert, hiding as best they can to shelter themselves from the inclemency of winter. Their dwellings are very miserable, totally inadequate for the latitude of cold and snow and ice. These huts are constructed of pieces of wood selected from the wreckage that drifts to the sea-board. Thin planks are plastered together and made as secure as possible with dried herbage and the bark of trees. The roofs are tall and peaked, covered also with vegetable thatch of the coarsest kind. Glass is a substance unknown ; the only protection of the windows is a straw or rush mat or a few planks, which exclude the light as well as temper the cold. The Kurilians are not thrifty, and if care is not taken to provide for the dark months of the year, there is little comfort to be found within the homes. Oil taken from the whale, or the hair seal, provides light, and a rude lamp is constructed by means of long wicks which flare and emit the most unpleasant odour and disagreeable smell. These soon affect the interiors of the

dwellings and add to the discomfort of winter. Sometimes, in the more northern regions, dwellings are constructed near the shores, half underground, where the continual burden of the tides has caused depressions by being forced on land. These pieces of wreckage are lugged into position and utilized as log huts within sight of the ships and the sea. But few ships pass through the North Pacific during the months of storm and tempest, darkness and snow, and the islands lay landlocked by the insurmountable barriers of ice—ice that is more formidable in its presence than many another foe. The temperature is far below freezing; the huge pieces of seal and other flesh have to be unfrozen in the near proximity of the flaring oil wicks before they can be partaken of by the most hungry inmates. A bad season spells famine for many, and it is only by that wonderful *camaraderie* that exists among the very poor and suffering, that the communities manage to sustain life in times of great distress. Mortality is very frequent during severe seasons, and many sleep their lives away if the cold is prolonged.

Sometimes the cold and the darkness without is relieved by outbursts from volcanic mountains that are to be seen near, or at a distance far out in the frozen deep, flashing their angry flare over the desolation, rumbling and thundering through the silence and the scene of inaction; speaking in their warning voices their messages and their sermons of a power greater than man's, which is ever near and around those terror struck communities, unthought of and uncared for by the world at large.

The first breath of spring comes like a whisper of hope. It is naturally chilly and cold, for the ice gives way, cracking and splitting hither and thither with loud reports, deafening in sound, echoing from north to south, from east to west. The ice, however, does not melt or disappear, but piles up in broken slabs and fragments all along the seaboard. Large quantities bear down from the north, from the Sea of Okhotsk, and find an anchorage round the

southern islands and Yezo. This frozen fringe remains well into the summer as an ever-present foretoken of that which will occur again and again. But the hungry inhabitants have watched for this phenomenon and metamorphosis, because through the first holes and cracks the welcome sight of last year's belated seals, seeking light and air from their long imprisonment, can be observed. These can be captured by spearing or clubbing under low water, if the hunter is patient enough to watch and to wait, in rigid suspense of limb as well as concentration of sight, for the presence of his prey. A piece of fresh flesh that can be eaten soon after capture proves a toothsome and delightful meal, after winter's unfrozen store. The improvidence of the people is hard to credit, even in the face of winter's extreme severity. Still, it must be recorded that even the most hardy among them cannot brave the ferocity of the gales which endure for days at a time, and only lull to commence attacks of greater violence, in these regions, unvisited by sun or any other light for many weeks at a time. Of the 4,000 isles that make up the great archipelago of the Japanese Empire, three distinct groups have been divided. Within these three, Chishima ranks the minor. But colonies are important, and Japan will find work for her hardy and young patriots to undertake, particularly in these hitherto forbidding regions, recently, so to speak, having come under her absolute control. Alternating with the sterile and stony land and the ash-strewn waste where her elevated peaks have cast down their burdens and their destructive refuse, the presence of the dense forests gives a peculiar charm. It is in these forests, apart from their value as timber, that wealth lies waiting to be brought to the Mother country. These stunted plantations of Nature are the haunts and homes of fur-bearing animals who seek protection in their deep-shadowed recesses, feeding on roots and berries and other edible substances that are to be found for the seeking, by bears, foxes, and other wild animals, pressed hard for nourish-

ment. When the winter breaks up, the spring, or change, is very short; summer follows quickly, one of considerable heat, stifling and close, the sunshine often being quite unable to penetrate the lingering fog, yet beating down over the belt of mist, and keeping the land in a continuous state of warm moisture. Sometimes this warm fog belt remains unlifted for the whole summer, from May or June till October, in which case tropical effects are natural results. So dense is this fog veil that the sense of sight is powerless to penetrate a yard before the eyes. Vegetation alone rejoices in its advent and presence, and grows apace, fully aroused by its genial warmth and moisture from the torpor winter's severity imposes on all living indigenous flora.

The forests are of cedar, pine, maple, birch, cryptomeria, silkworm mulberry, etc. The island of Shikotan is one continuous forest. The flora and fauna of the Kuriles is much the same as that of Siberia. The spotted and somewhat rare bamboo, whose markings resemble those of the tortoise shell, is a valuable article of commerce. The salmonberry, also called the raspberry (but earning the first name on account of its colour), is sought for greedily for its refreshing fruit. Strawberries, nuts, and rose apples are also reported to grow in some of the islands. Captain Golownin, when exploring $45^{\circ} 39'$ N. latitude and $149^{\circ} 34'$ E. longitude, descanted on the discovery of herbs, among which were enumerated sorrel, "the same as grows at home," also the wonderful sea-grass, called by the Japanese *Tombu* (*Fucus esculentus*). This grass forms food for the seals in time of need, and is considered wholesome as food for man, being somewhat sustaining and nutritious; its leaves are fifty feet in length. It is collected with other sea plants and seaweed in the great ingathering of the sea harvests, which are encouraged by the Japanese Government. As this industry is protected and yields a good and rich return, many thousands of Japanese are engaged in it at certain times of the year.

The cold northern waters do not in any way deter life.

Fish of many kinds find their homes and propagate their species therein ; one form of life feeds voraciously upon another. Shoals of herring that dart and gleam with their silvery scales below the surface are devoured by the yearly summer marine visitors, who have discovered where to seek and find nourishment. The waters of the North Pacific from the eastern side of the Kuriles to the shores of America are alive with seals of both species, otter sea-lion, sea-otters, and whales. Of these man is not the only enemy, for the " killer-whales " follow in their track, and in consequence of one foe or the other, the warfare in these arctic and cold extensive seas, forbidding in their character, is deadly and destructive.

Every portion of the seal and sea-otter is useful to man. For this reason, in and around Yezo they have been hunted almost to extermination from sheer necessity. The skins or pelts provide clothing, as well as an excellent medium of barter and exchange. The flesh is eaten, and any portion not required is cast aside for the dressing of the land. Great luxuriance of vegetation abounds wherever it is fed by putrid flesh. The blubber and oil of the hair seal, which is found beneath the skin, provides both food and light. The intestines are utilized for string and materials for fastening. The skin is made into covering for boats. Although it takes 100 carcasses of the hair seal to produce a ton of oil, the necessity of light becomes the incentive for labour.

The hunting of the seal takes place in early summer. An enormous trade is carried on further north, around the Aleutian, Alaska, and the Pribylof Islands. This, no doubt, makes the presence of the seals scarce in and around the Kurile group.

The method of capture, as prosecuted by the Kurilsky Ainus, is not the same as that organized by the Russian-American Company or by foreigners such as Captain Snow and others, who have ventured so far north in search of the seals.

The Kurilians capture their prey when they venture upon the rocks out of the water, by means of entanglement in nets. The foreigner shoots the pinnipeds in the water, and the Russian-American Company drives them from their haunts and slaughters them wholesale by confining them in a small compass and striking the seals with clubs simultaneously, and, soon after slaughters, depriving the carcase of its skin, which has to be stretched on frames as soon as possible after washing and cleansing. The system of capture in any way is very cruel, and savours of barbarism whether conducted by Europeans or any other hunters. It is to be hoped that the early method of skinning the poor mammals almost alive has been by this time prohibited. Even those who have participated in the sport, or have been eye-witnesses of the way in which the capture is carried out to the bitter end, have expressed disapproval and disgust of the wholesale, merciless slaughter inflicted on these sensitive and almost human creatures, whose very beauty has made them a prey to man—to man for gain, and woman for fashion.

* All species of seal and otter are fierce in their maternal and other passions. They suffer considerably when deprived of their young. Seals have been known to follow a ship for sixty miles. Their cries are almost human. But as the trade is a certainty, and as there are many hunters willing to put up with endless discomforts to become rich by reason of the gain this fur trade secures, there is little chance of the fisheries decreasing for want of enterprise. Expedition in the undertaking and carrying out of the trade is absolutely necessary. Unless the fur receives immediate attention after the animal is slaughtered, the pelts become spoilt and useless from a marketable point of view. Seals are scarce in the waters surrounding the Kuriles, but both the fur seal, *Otaria ursina* and the sea-

* Through the kindness of a friend who visited and personally inspected the seal rookeries, I have been able to give the following interesting details.—C. M. S.

otter, *Latax hustris*, are still to be met with. The sea-lion, *Otaria stelleri*, are still plentiful. They have not the value of the two former, and are decreasing in number where they were once numerous. The variety known as the Black Sea Lion, *Otaria gillespii*, is also occasionally taken. The hair seals, *Phoca vitulina*, that favour these regions, are the most welcome visitors on the part of the natives, for it is the flesh of the hair seals that is eaten, and the oil and blubber that is so useful to man. But the hauls that are taken in and around the Kuriles sink into insignificance when compared to the enormous numbers that are captured in the Aleutian and Pribylof islands by the Amalgamated Companies, year after year, below the Behring Straits. There the coming of the great "schools" are awaited with keen anxiety, for on the arrival of the "ambassador bulls" a scene of the greatest activity commences. These fine animals, that range from 260 to 400 pounds in weight, arrive in splendid condition, well fed, and sleek in the early years of their lives. But as time goes on they become hideous in appearance. Marks of fierce conflicts that have taken place between them have left indelible scars upon their once fine fur. Deadly combats are entered into as soon as the fair females are to be seen approaching. This takes place a month after the arrival of the bulls, who have fought with each other to secure the best places of vantage. Each bull is eager to captivate from eight to ten brides for his harem, and woe betide any rival who dares to dispute the right he has to make a selection.

So fierce are their passions and their jealousy, that, in the first place, any wavering on the part of the prospective brides is promptly quelled, and they are treated with little ceremony. They are literally slapped with the heavy flappers, their ears are boxed, and they are finally taken by the scruff of the neck, shaken, and deposited in their special places in the rookery appointed for their sojourn for the time being. When once the harem is organized, the bulls never leave their posts to feed during the whole time of

their occupation. They are too anxious to stray even for an hour, and if the females attempt to digress from the narrow path they are permitted to traverse to get to the water for procuring food for themselves and an occasional swim, they are instantly secured and kept prisoners for a certain time as a punishment.

As "a hungry man is an angry man," so these lords of the sea turn wrathful in their anxiety to preserve the mothers of their offspring from any annoyance or overtures from without. The prescribed limits of their habitation remain unaugmented. Sometimes when brawls occur, the roaring of the bulls resembles thunder. This, heard under the veil of fog or semi-darkness, produces a weird effect, and at times strikes terror into the hearts of those who hear it at a distance. But it betrays to the newcomers on the scene the exact locality of the several harems. However fierce may be the guardians of the kelp-covered rocky dominions so arbitrarily governed, there is no doubt that the prolonged fast accelerates their wrath. Arriving in splendid condition, they depart mere skeletons, owing to their protracted hunger and ceaseless anxious vigils. If by any chance a bull dies, a tremendous battle ensues if the vacancy is worth the venture. Many suitors are occasionally left out when the homes are being organized; a death in their midst is by no means therefore an event to be regretted.

As only seals of a certain age are captured for their coating—which age is between four and five years—many young males are left to return another season. Seldom more than one pup is born to each mother. Extreme care is necessary on the part of the hunters in order to avoid killing specimens in the early stage of their lives. Being mammals, the pups seek protection and the nourishment that is readily granted, though only procurable for a short time. Somehow the knowledge of future trouble and separation seems to cast its shadow over the family circle, and to deepen that maternal solicitude that is apparent among this particular tribe. The cubs are trained early to

sport and play in the water and among the rocks, and dive for the fish that is their ultimate nourishment, while their mothers look on ready for self-sacrifice if any harm threatens their young.

The furs of the sea-otter of the Kuriles supply the markets of London and other centres. Owing to their handsome appearance they command high prices, because the sea-otter is not anywhere over-abundant in so fine a quality. The otters were formerly found in great numbers on the east coast of Yezo, but when activity commenced and foreigners advanced their claims, these pinnipeds forsook their old haunts and sought refuge on the south-eastern side of the Kuriles.

Owing to the difficulty of obtaining information in the earlier centuries of the discovery of this northern circuit of Japan, it is next to impossible to give any accurate dates of the first trading enterprise for the sake of obtaining these valuable pelts, which are ever in demand both in China and other Eastern countries, as well as in America and Europe. Very little is really known concerning all that went on in these latitudes, or how long ago the aborigines of the North were cognisant of the usefulness or value of much that lay near at hand from a commercial point of view. But skins were exchanged for rice and other comestibles as early as A.D. 1615, and grew in importance, as a means of barter and exchange between the inhabitants and the foreigners, who were venturesome enough to push into the Northern unexplored regions.

That many found pleasure in the venture there is little doubt. During that period of the history of Japan in which a dual form of government existed, the most costly gifts were selected for presentation to Shogun and Daimio. Among the list of presents the skins of sea-otters were recorded as offerings made for the acceptance of influential potentates and princes.

The principal islands, which include Shikotan, Shimoshir, Yotorup, and Urup, were those first visited. We have

grown familiar with their importance. For some time they were jealously guarded—that is to say, when they finally fell into the hands of the Japanese. But all was more or less in a state of chaos, which was necessarily the case, as the removal of many of the Russian prisoners took place, and the Japanese were for the time being uninformed of the possibilities of the possession from a commercial point of view. The permission to hunt seals, otters, and sea-lions being rarely granted to foreigners, difficulties arose and vessels were often confiscated and sportsmen baulked of their prey. Lives were constantly lost, together with all worldly belongings. Shipwrecks and accidents frequently occurred, owing to the dangers of navigation and other causes. The climate is not suitable to Europeans, whose craving for comforts increases rather than diminishes as time goes on. The region now belongs to Japan, and it is more suitable for the persevering, pushing, enterprising Japanese, who are willing to brook any discomfort, fall in with any disadvantage that will ultimately produce gain either for self or country, and who are ever on the alert for providing for future contingencies for the further inevitable expansion of the dominion of the Land of the Rising Sun.

But the climate does not agree always even with the Japanese, and at first many succumbed to its enervating influence, both as regards intense severity of moisture or cold. Those who newly settled suffered most, and many died from various causes, privation of usual food, needed activity, and sufficient housing, and not from unnatural causes, either of sickness or disease.

Among the many drawbacks which exist in this northern chain, added to the dense darkness of winter and the fog girdle of summer, the ice floes, snowstorms, typhoons and hurricanes, volcanic fires and seismic disturbances, there is yet another, apart from the most terrible of all—the innumerable swarms of mosquitoes. The islands are surrounded with heaps of many varieties of seaweed. This,

entangled in the jetsam and flotsam of frequent shipwrecks, creates a dangerous trap; a slippery fringe of marine vegetation that is constantly decaying on the low, unsafe rocks. Sometimes its odour is very offensive, though the kelp is agreeable to the seals, who love to lie and rest on its soft surface, particularly on the eastern side, which affords the best shelter during the later months of summer. It is there that mosquitoes are a plague to man. Sea birds also seek favourable creeks and crevices among this plentitude of parti-coloured vegetation, and trust to the dangers accompanying the venture to gain security from their hunters.

Of the birds that are mentioned as having found a home within the radius of the Kuriles, mention may be made in particular of certain species that have attracted the attention of visitors since the first discovery of Captain Maerten Gerrits Vries in 1615. The subjoined list is given tentatively because, although they are known in Yeso and Krafu, they have been only occasionally found in this particular group of islands of the East Pacific: Falcon, hawk, ice hawk, fish eagle, sea eagle and kite, eared owl and ghost owl, hooting owl, caliope, guillemots, puffins, fulmars, gulls, petrels, nightingale, wagtail (this is the sacred bird of the Ainu, said to have assisted the making of the world at the time of its creation). The reason of the bird ceaselessly moving its tail, tradition tells us, is that its first progenitors followed man to beat down the newly turned up sod after seed had been scattered. There are also birds familiar to us in England. After all, we are upon much the same degree of latitude, and though, as a rule, our climate is more genial, we are really nearer to the North Pole. Of our birds so commonly seen in all parts of England, species have been sighted of tomtit, house sparrow, lark, blackbird, starling, raven, crow, magpie, woodpecker, kingfisher, chicken, pigeon, ducks, geese, petrel, ruffs, woodsnipe, and many others. These species have been named in the Japanese and Ainu language

This list, which is given from P. B. von Siebold's book already mentioned, is authenticated either by personal observation, by procuring skins, or by drawings, by which means they were identified. According to the temperature, or the approach of a winter of extreme severity, the birds migrate from West to East.

Quantities of fish are found for the seeking. Shoals of herring, which are the staple food of the seal; cod in certain places for the use of man, mackerel, perch, plaice, sole, skate, lamprey, and gurnet. The better species are passed over. Salmon is plentiful. It is by no means a very exaggerated tradition that, owing to the numerous quantities, boatmen have found many of the rivers impossible of navigation at certain seasons. It has been stated that, in 1785, 3,600,000 pounds of salmon, salted and cured, were obtained for commerce. This account does not include the fishing round Chishima; it applies to the near vicinity—the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk and Kamtchatka. The whale that yields the sperm is plentiful.

Edible vegetables are very scarce; the enormous consumption of marine food accounts for the serious skin affections that plague the aborigines.

Now that the Japanese have established themselves in the main islands of Shikotan, Etorup, Shimshiru, and other parts, a system of agriculture will soon be developed. However difficult this may be at first to organize, it should prove a lasting blessing, and give healthy and useful employment, coupled with new interest in life, to a people who are possessed of many fine traits of character. Lieutenant Gunji, whose adventure with forty other Japanese sailors, in 1892, to these islands is now well known, has undertaken this laudible task of expanding the possibilities of the Kuriles.

This daring adventure on the part of Lieutenant Gunji was undertaken in open boats and nearly proved a failure, but some show of interest was needed at the time. A Governor-General will be, or has been, since appointed to

look after this valuable possession of the Mother country. At present the islands are sparsely populated ; about half are Japanese, the rest of the 4,000 inhabitants are either Ainu, Kurilsky-Ainu, a few from Saghalien. It was found at the recession that the greater number were Russian convicts. Those who cared to do so remained behind to be governed henceforth by the foreigner. No European can take up permanent abode ; he could never face the cold, the want of absolute necessities stares him in the face, and comforts are nil. Even the keenest sportsman and the bravest sailors cannot endure the lengthened trials of terrible weather of storms and snow, tempests, and high seas. Though fish and fowl are plentiful for the seeking, there is no substitute for bread, and vegetables have never been cultivated to any useful extent, not even during the best and sunniest season of the year—the two later summer months. Tide “rips” and typhoon, nipping cold, and a barometer below zero, frequent shipwrecks, and want of companionship are among some of the many difficulties to be encountered. From this it will be understood this group only offers a few attractions to the venturesome explorers bent on endeavouring to overcome difficulties for the purpose of proclaiming their paramount power over the lower order of creation. The Ainu and other savage inhabitants are not a disagreeable community ; far from it. Their looks belie them. Their ferocity, which appears to be estimated by their hairy appearance, is not easily aroused nowadays. It may have served them well in the past, but the energy of their conquerors (whom they once in the sixth and other centuries routed) is now turning the tables upon them. A Japanese in their midst fills the Ainus with fear and trembling. Apart from the discipline the Japanese establish, their activity appals these sluggish, almost inanimate savages, reduced through years of neglect, to “do nothing in a hurry, not even that which is good.” They are terribly afraid of the enterprising invaders who have won far more than the scanty possessions of the

aborigines and their mean homes, by the flash of the sword, and their destructive guns so deftly handled against their would-be conquerors. The Ainu from all former traditions has descended in the scale of humanity. He would prefer to be left alone with so little of this world's goods, to dwindle out as a race forgotten, if Fate had so decreed, by the rest of mankind. In the dark winter the torpor created by want of warmth and food renders the Kurilsky Ainu impervious and indifferent to the danger of comatose sleepiness, from which there may be no awakening. The silence, coupled with the inactivity of Nature without, the ice floes amalgamating and forming impregnable barriers round his sea-girt territory, the absence of all labour through the inclemency and rigour of winter, the terrific fires of distant mountains, burning their beacons far out at sea as if to warn off the most venturesome with their deadly glare, only alternated by loud reports of sudden eruptions, are deemed sufficient in their menace to ward off the approach of any other terror. Amid squalor, neglect, famine, and the absence of any comforts, and but few necessities, these gentle, ignorant, untaught, unthought-of members of the universal family, endowed like us all with immortal souls by the Hand Divine, sleep, oblivious to their lot in winter, or dawdle their days away, year by year of their lives, till they are released by the merciful Hand of Death, and all chance to help them to a happier fate is left unfulfilled by the more fortunate.

When Chishima was in Russian hands, an attempt was made to introduce Christianity and the tenets of the Greek Church into the island. Here and there evidences of this attempt may be seen, and perchance a few among the Russians left have preserved some of these dim recollections of Divine love. These tenets may have been handed down from one generation to another. But as communication between Yezo and the Kuriles still exists, the primitive ideas and traditions, superstitions, and observances preponderate. *Totems* to ward off evil, the preservation and

worship of the bear, and other beliefs concerning the power that lies hidden in Nature, are the only incentives to stimulate moral obligations. Fear of evil spirits being the first instinct, or veneration, for those effects which are witnessed but not understood, alone supply a certain governing influence over the untutored, gentle savage.

We can but hope that in the future, however far off, that exhortation, uttered in the ages long, long ago, may be heard and understood—

“Sing unto the Lord a new song, and His praise from the ends of the Earth, ye that go down to the sea, and all that is therein ; the isles and the inhabitants thereof.”

BOOKS CONSULTED.—The works of Professor von Siebold, A. B. Mitford, and several Japanese publications ; Captain Snow's “In Forbidden Seas,” H. W. Elliott's “Our Arctic Province,” etc.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Wednesday, June 12, 1912, a paper was read by William Durran, Esq., on "Some Defects in the Legal Systems of England, India and America."* Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D., was in the chair, and the following amongst others were present: Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Walter Hughes, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, C.I.E., M.V.O., Mr. A. Digby, C.I.E., General F. H. Tyrrell, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. S. H. Fremantle, Mr. R. G. Grant Brown, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Forrest, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Lady Fulton, Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. and Mrs. W. Corfield, Miss Corfield, Mr. E. Nundy, Mr. R. S. Slatkowsky, Mr. Bhiske, Mr. Khurdad Rustomjee, Mr. K. G. Desai, Mr. B. M. Lal, Mr. W. B. Brown, Dr. A. D. Pollen, Miss Pollen, Mr. De Souza, Mr. R. Murray, Mr. E. Fulton, Mr. C. Judd, Mr. H. Pollen, Mrs. Murray, Mr. H. K. Mitra, Sardar Arjan Singh, Miss Robertson, Mr. V. Krishna Menon, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. J. Taliab, Mr. Marsh, Mrs. Hobbs and two daughters, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said that he was the author of a number of articles which had appeared in the *Westminster Review* under the signature of "Ignotus." To-day he had cast aside that pseudonym, and he had no doubt that when he published a book, which he understood he was about to do on the subject of the paper, he would be very much the reverse of "Ignotus." One of his articles had attracted the attention of two retired judges of the Calcutta High Court, and one—a barrister-judge—turned to his colleague—a civilian judge—and said the paper was evidently written by a disappointed candidate for the High Court. As a civilian judge it was his opinion and that of others that their barrister colleagues were very good in their law, but were often

* This appeared in our July number, pp. 21-37.

wrong in their conclusions as to the facts. This incident afforded a good illustration of this. Mr. Durran had never even been a member of the Indian Civil Service ; he was never a judge ; he had never aspired to the High Court, and did not intend to do so. Then, they might ask, what did Mr. Durran know about the subject? He would tell them. In earlier years he had the misfortune to become a trustee, and as such was soon involved in legal troubles. He could hear some of his friends say, "Oh, then he was a disappointed and unsuccessful litigant!" But they would be wrong ; Mr. Durran was never anything of the sort, because he very wisely settled his legal difficulties out of court, and never went into court at all. He had only one word more to say about the subject of the paper. As they knew, the East India Association dealt principally with matters connected with India, but it was impossible to separate the subject of legal defects in India from those of our own and of the American system, because the legal system of India was founded on the legal system of England ; and as for the American system, it afforded an illustration of what they might come to in this country if they did not apply some remedy. (Applause.)

(The lecturer, who was received with applause, then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, we have now had described to us in somewhat forcible and incisive terms the chief legal defects of the systems of India, England, and America. With your permission I propose to say a few words in his support, and to corroborate him by incidents which have occurred within my own experience. The chief legal defect in this country, according to the lecturer, is its costliness ; he had also mentioned other defects, such as its technicalities, its want of codification, the jury system, and the recruiting of the Bench from the Bar ; and, for my own part, I would add another defect—namely, the undue prolongation of proceedings in many of our English courts of justice. As to the costliness, I think there can be no possible doubt that it often amounts to a denial of justice to people of limited means. I would like to cite one case that occurred only three weeks ago : it was a case in which a company sued another company for infringement of patent of an electric lamp. It seemed to me to be a very simple question, but this case took the courts fifteen whole days, going on from day to day, and it cost the parties concerned no less than £15,000. As a result the decision was partly in favour of one company and partly in favour of the other, with the result that both were dissatisfied. Both have appealed, and now the case may have to be heard all over again in the Court of Appeal.

Then, again, the legal history of England is full of actions of law having failed and trials being abortive through trivial mistakes made in the course of the trial. Most people think that these days are past, but they have only to read the daily papers to find they are quite wrong. I beg to cite three cases which have occurred within the last three or four years. The first is a case in which a man was convicted of stealing lead from a house. On appeal his conviction was quashed on the ground that he had been indicted at common law, and lead, being at common law a part of a house, cannot be the subject of larceny. You cannot steal a house, so you can't steal lead, which is part of a house, even apparently when it is detached.

So perhaps Mr. Chesterton is right when he says, according to English law :

"You prosecute the man or woman
Who steals the goose from off the common,
Yet leave the larger felon loose
Who steals the common from the goose."

In the second case a man was indicted for breaking and entering a house with intent to steal. The jury by an oversight found him guilty of entering the house with intent to steal, not of breaking and entering. The accused's counsel contended that this must be regarded as a verdict of acquittal. A juror said this was not what they intended. The judge said that could not be helped.

"I have to take your verdict as recorded," he said. "It is most unfortunate. I am very sorry. I have to direct you to find a verdict of 'Not guilty' on your finding." He then turned to the prisoner, and said: "You are very fortunate; now go away." (Laughter.)

The third case is the worst of the three. A father was convicted of a brutal assault on his own daughter, which caused her death. There were two assaults. The first assault was in 1906, and the second was committed in December, 1907. The girl died of her injuries in March, 1908. The prisoner was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude, a sentence he richly deserved. On appeal it was pointed out that the judge had omitted to direct the jury that the earlier assault committed by the same father on the same child had nothing to do with the death, as the first assault had been committed one year and one day previously. The verdict of the jury was held to be vitiated by this omission, and the prisoner was set at liberty.

I would now like to say a few words about a more debatable question—the jury system. In feudal times, when the upper classes were tyrannical and judges venal, the jury system was necessary for the protection of the poor. But things are much changed from feudal times. In these days of strikes, it is rather the poorer classes that oppress the upper classes, than the upper classes who tyrannize over the poor. So nowadays the jury system appears to me to be only the substitution of an unskilled, sometimes unintelligent and often prejudiced, body, for a skilled, experienced and impartial tribunal. Juries are easily misled. They have often to decide matters they do not understand, and they are very liable to be influenced by their feelings. Advocates therefore cultivate the art of eloquence, which works upon their feelings. They distort facts, and delight in sophistries and quibbles. The reminiscences of legal luminaries are full of accounts of how in the early days they successfully misled juries. I remember one of my colleagues, the late Mr. Justice Norris, telling me of one of his earliest forensic triumphs. He was engaged to defend a man who was charged with robbing a gentleman of his watch at night. The prosecutor gave his evidence clearly, and was certain of the identity of his assailant. Mr. Norris felt that his client's case was hopeless if he could not break down the prosecutor's testimony, so he began to joke with him to put him off his guard.

He said : " You are a gay sort of a fellow, aren't you ?"

The prosecutor admitted that he was.

" You often come home late at nights, don't you ?" was the next query.

" Yes, sometimes I do," said the witness.

" You are often a bit ' sprung ' on these occasions ?" said Mr. Norris.

" Sometimes I am," candidly admitted the man.

" Now, tell me," said Mr. Norris, " have you ever tried to wind up your watch with a corkscrew ?"

This absurd question set everybody in court laughing. The prosecutor laughed too, and entering into the spirit of the joke, said, " Perhaps I have."

Mr. Norris at once sat down, and afterwards in his address he told the jury the prosecutor was confessedly a habitual drunkard, and that his identification of the prisoner was not to be relied upon. The amused jury acquitted the robber.

Let me tell you about another case I know of. A gentleman had a case about the valuation of certain land. He engaged an experienced land valuer to survey and value it. Before the case came on for trial this land surveyor retired from business, and bought a farm in Devonshire.

When he appeared in the witness-box he was dressed like a country farmer---top-boots and breeches, and a low-crowned, broad-brimmed hat. In his evidence he gave full reasons for his valuation of the land. The defendant's counsel knew he was no match for the witness in questions of land valuation, so he proceeded to banter him. He said : " Well, squire, how are oats ?"

The witness said they were getting on well.

" And how about turnips ?"

The witness said turnips were all right.

The defendant's counsel asked him a few more questions about crops, and sat down without asking him a single question about the value of the land. He then said to the jury : " This witness is a mere country farmer, with no ideas except about farming and agriculture." He asked them not to rely on his evidence as to the value of the land. The jury fell into the trap, and the plaintiff lost his case and his money.

Such are the wiles and artifices of some barristers. I am afraid the other branch of the legal profession is just as bad. I was talking to a solicitor some time ago, and the conversation turned upon another solicitor, whom I shall call Mr. X., who has recently started practice in India. My friend said : " Mr. X. is one of the finest solicitors who have ever adorned our profession. If you have a good case, and you employ Mr. X., you have a good chance of winning ; if you have a poor case, you have an excellent chance of winning ; while if you have a perfectly rotten case, your success is a dead certainty."

When barristers have become famous, are tired of verdict-snatching, and are getting on in years, they are promoted to the Bench. Then they are expected to be impartial instead of partisans, to duly weigh evidence instead of distorting it, to be wise and taciturn instead of being captious and voluble, and to do justice instead of trying to defeat it.

I must now turn to the defects of the legal system in India, which are much the same as the defects of the English system, though exaggerated and distorted.

Trials and actions at law in India cost large sums of money, and are protracted to an extent fortunately unknown in England, except in such cases as the Tichborne case. Take the Midnapore case, for instance, in which certain Government servants are concerned. I must speak of this case with reserve, as, though it began two or three years ago, it is still going on in appeal before the High Court of Calcutta. But I commit no contempt of court when I say that the Government servants are being tried on the allegation that they got up a criminal case against the plaintiff. The suit lasted ten months on the original side of the High Court. It resulted in a decree for £62 being given against the defendant, which carried with it costs to the tune of £26,000. The Government servants have appealed. Three eminent barristers have been retained for them. I understand the fee of the second counsel is £10,000! The senior counsel's speech lasted twenty days—that is, for over one calendar month, for there are only five working days in the legal week in India. The second counsel's principal plea was that the suit is barred by limitation. The third counsel is now speaking. (Laughter?) The case is expected to last three months more.

I don't need to say anything about the Khulna case; Mr. Durran has told you about it. It is one of the most remarkable cases that have ever occurred in India.

You may ask why cases cost so much money and last so long in India. I think this is due to three causes: (1) the number of appeals, applications for revision, and other dilatory processes allowed by the codes of procedure; (2) the great natural aptitude of Indian barristers and pleaders for dialectics, and their prodigious prolixity of speech; and (3) the weakness of the judges, who are apparently unable to control the Bar.

It must be admitted that the Indian people are a talkative race. If you go to a bazaar or market, the noise is deafening. The men are all talking and shouting and the women screaming at the top of their voices. An Indian gentleman once said to me that what surprised him most in this country was the quietness of the London streets. The streets are thronged with people, yet everyone goes quietly about his business and does not stop to talk.

I have read in a book that, according to medical science, the national characteristics of a man always come out when he is put under the influence of laughing-gas. Thus an Englishman, when under the influence of laughing-gas, invariably swears; an Irishman wants to fight; a German calls for beer; an Italian sings; a Frenchman makes love to the nurses; while a Bengali gentleman, especially if a pleader, when under the influence of laughing-gas, struggles to his feet and says, "Gentlemen, I should like to say just a few words."

The worst of it is, Indian barristers never know when to stop. An Indian barrister a few years ago published a scurrilous article in a paper of which he was editor about the judges of the court before which he

practised. The High Court had him up, and suspended him for a short time. He appealed to the Privy Council, came to England and argued his appeal in person. The first day he spoke he made an excellent impression. If he had stopped then he might, I think, have been successful. But he went on for seven days. In my opinion their lordships of the Privy Council were in the end so infuriated against him that, instead of merely suspending him, they would have hanged him if they could. They dismissed his appeal, and as they went away I am told they said to each other: "These poor Indian judges, we see, have a great deal to put up with!" (Loud laughter.)

I must now say a few words about the recruitment of Indian judges, as this has a great deal to do with the delay of disposing of cases in India. Judges in India are recruited from three classes: (1) English barristers, imported from England; (2) members of the judicial branch of the Civil Service; and (3) Indian barristers and pleaders.

In England the judges are selected from the successful but aged Bar. In India barristers recruited as judges in England are selected from the unsuccessful but junior Bar. When appointed they know nothing about Indian law or Indian languages. The former they pick up in time; the latter always remains to them a sealed book. They, of course, cannot get through their work as quickly as judges who are familiar with the language of the country. I am told interest and political services have a great deal to do with their selection. In recent years two Lunacy Commissioners were appointed to high legal office in India, presumably because they had rendered political services to a Conservative Secretary of State.

But it does not matter which party is in power. Whether you render political services to a Conservative Secretary of State or act as private secretary to a Radical Cabinet Minister you are certain of high office in India.

One final word about the Indian barristers and pleaders who are appointed to be judges. They are almost always men of great ability and learning, but they are not expeditious in the despatch of business. They emulate the long-windedness of the pleaders in the very lengthy judgments they deliver. I once mildly remonstrated with an Indian colleague who delivered a very lengthy judgment in an unimportant civil appeal which we had heard together. He said: "You see, the pleader for the appellant cited a number of American cases. I wanted to show him that I knew a lot of American cases which he didn't." I need scarcely say the American cases had nothing to do with the case! (Laughter.)

These are some of the reasons why cases last so long in India and cost so much.

MR. LESLIE MOORE wished to say a few words about the jury system, which, in his humble opinion, was greatly overrated, and in many cases out of place. In regard to America, they had heard an extraordinary story from the lecturer, which was no doubt accurate, about a barrister winning a verdict from a jury by singing "Home, sweet home." Pursuing that principle to its logical conclusion, it would follow that Caruso would be the most successful advocate at the Bar. As to India, a frequent com-

plaint in the Indian papers was that where a European was charged with a crime and the case came before a jury, which, according to Indian law, must be composed of Europeans to the extent of at least half its numbers, he was almost always acquitted. The complaint was exaggerated, but had some basis in fact. On the other hand, it was found necessary to submit the late anarchist outrages in India, not to an Indian jury, but to a panel of the High Court. Rhodesia was another instance. There it is notorious that white juries have refused to convict white men on charges of violence against negroes. In fact, where race prejudice exists, the jury system fails. Ireland could be cited as an instance nearer home, where it was well known that, owing not to racial but to political prejudice, it was often impossible to get a jury to agree on their verdict. Time after time juries disagreed, and the public prosecutors had to drop the case. In England, too, instances might be quoted. In some recent cases of political libel the juries had given extravagant damages against the defendants, who were all Radicals. It was pointed out in the House of Commons that these juries were special juries, chiefly recruited from publicans, that class being the only one sufficiently highly rated in the localities where the libels were promulgated. The good publican was generally a good Conservative. In fact, though the jury system may be useful under favourable circumstances, it may fairly be said that in the face of racial or political prejudice it was a fruitful source of injustice.

DR. NUNDI (barrister-at-law) said he had not intended to speak, as he had already expressed his views to the Honorary Secretary. In his opinion many of the remarks he had just heard were made by a person not very qualified to give an expert opinion. Notwithstanding all the Chairman had said about the lecturer's qualifications, it was clear he had no practical experience of matters dealt with in the paper, and these were subjects that could only be discussed satisfactorily by those who had such experience. Everyone knew that there were defects. Neither the laws of England, India or America were perfect; but what was the object of simply stating a fact which everyone knew, without giving any reasons or suggesting any remedy? Had he suggested any method for removing or remedying those defects? He ventured to say he had not. Mr. Durran objected to lawyers and judges, and also to trial by jury, but what would he substitute in their places? The paper was nothing more than mere bare statements, with nothing of a debatable nature about them. He would much have preferred some definite suggestions from the lecturer who had omitted the most important part—namely, the indication of remedies for those defects pointed out. He (the speaker) cited numerous instances that had come under his own notice, as proof of reform needed, not only as affecting the two branches of the legal profession, but including the judiciary as well. In South, East, and West Africa, for instance, civilian judges did not answer by any means so well as judges taken from the practising Bar, whether recruited locally or sent from England. That was his own personal opinion, and he had been leader of the Bar for many years on the East Coast of Africa, and had a personal knowledge of all the Colonies referred to.

In conclusion, he would like to say that he would have preferred to hear more of the opposite side ; he did not think they had derived much benefit for that reason, and he candidly did not see what good purpose had been served by the reading of the paper.

MR. FREMANTLE said it seemed to him obvious that there was a great deal of dissatisfaction in England with their present legal system. They all knew the old proverb, "The law is an ass"—at any rate, that was the opinion of a good many laymen. There was no doubt whatever that the great influence of the legal class, who profited by disturbances and litigation, was prejudicial to the interests of the community. He had had personal experience of that when he was engaged in India. He had recently read in the *Daily Mail* a series of striking articles by Mr. H. G. Wells, where he pointed out the great defects in our political system, which he also characterized as being due to the extreme influence exercised by the lawyers, and stated that he regarded lawyers as the least statesman-like class amongst the educated classes, and he (the speaker) thought he was quite right. The extraordinary influence and importance of legal practitioners in India has had the effect of diverting the best minds of the people to the legal profession ; they saw a way of quickly making a fortune and nearly everyone wanted to be a lawyer. That was another great defect. It always seemed to him the course of justice would run a great deal smoother if no legal practitioners were permitted to appear in criminal cases ; there might be less law, but justice would be done.

DR. NUNDI replied that when he was a Commissioner of a district on the West Coast of Africa he did not encourage lawyers to appear before him, as the district was entirely a new one.

On the motion of MR. WHITWORTH, a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman was passed and carried with acclamation.

THE CHAIRMAN, in reply, said the lecturer had asked him to reply on behalf of both, and to say they were very much obliged for the vote of thanks. He was glad to see Mr. Nundi had taken up the opposite side of the question. There was, however, really nothing for Mr. Durran to answer ; the paper was on the *defects* of the system, and *not* on the remedies. That must be left for some other occasion, and would need to be the subject of another paper. It was, however, delightful to see the naïve way in which Mr. Nundi, while saying he approved of the legal system of Mombasa, which was not the subject of discussion, admitted that, when a Commissioner, he always refused to allow a lawyer to come into his district. There was a Latin quotation which seemed appropriate, and which he would give in English. It was to the effect : "I see and approve of the better things, but I always follow the worse."

(The proceedings then terminated.)

Mr. J. B. Pennington writes :

When I was called upon to speak it was already late, and the discussion had become so one-sided that it seemed useless to prolong it, but, as a member of a family addicted to law for three generations at least, I should

have liked to say one word to show that lawyers do not always advise litigation. My own brother, who had over sixty years' experience of the law, used always to say that, however disagreeable it might be to be robbed, "going to law was almost certain to be worse." It always seemed to me in India that the "professional" judge was always looking out for some technical objection on which he could acquit the criminal, whilst we "amateurs" took a great deal of trouble to prevent the guilty from escaping, on the principle, no doubt, of the old Roman law—*Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Tuesday, July 16, 1912, a paper by R. H. Shipley, Esq., I.C.S. (retired), was read by John Pollen, Esq., C.I.E., LL.D., entitled "The Crisis in India' from an Indian Point of View." The Right Hon. the Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir Leslie Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Horatio Shephard, Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D., Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.F., Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, C.I.E., M.V.O., Lieutenant-Colonel A. E. R. Stephens, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Madame Haemmerlé, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. W. Coldstream, Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. Sundara Raja, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Forrest, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. W. W. Corfield, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. A. Nundy, Mr. M. W. Hassanally, Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. D. Appa Rao, Mr. S. P. Varma, Mr. W. W. Pearson, Sardar Arjan Singh, Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh, Mr. S. S. Tarapore, Mr. E. Marsden, Mr. C. S. Bhasker, Mr. Khurdad Rustomji, Mr. F. A. T. Singhi, Mr. F. H. Brown, Miss M. Ashworth, Mrs. James Buckland, Mr. M. S. Master, Mr. C. G. Spencer, I.C.S., Mr. G. P. Mathur, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Mr. Francis P. Marchant, Miss E. Doderet, Mr. A. M. Hussanally, Mr. S. J. Husain, Mr. R. S. Chaudhry, Mr. William Douglas, Mr. L. G. B. Greening, Mr. R. Grant Brown, Mr. C. S. Campbell, Mr. V. Krishna Menon, Mr. Albert Bruce-Joy, Mr. J. B. Maxwell, Captain and Mr. J. P. D'Arcy, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I must first of all point out that there has been a printer's error in the title, which might mislead people into thinking that the paper dealt with a particular phase of India at the present time, and referred to some particular crisis. That is not the case. "The Crisis in India" ought to have been in inverted commas; it is the title of a book recently published, and the paper simply deals with that book. The paper will not be read *in extenso*, but passages will be read to you, and you will see how interesting the subject is. I think the paper deals in a most fair-minded way with the various problems that are

brought forward in the book. It is distinctly a judicial paper in its thought, and in its representation of the conditions that prevail at the present time in India respecting our rule there. Perhaps the most important feature in the paper to me—and it brings it out fairly—is that, as a Government, we are really going too fast for public opinion in India in certain directions. We have so accustomed ourselves in this country to thinking that there is only one solution to the problems of administration—namely, by placing it on a democratic basis, and then applying bureaucratic efficiency, that we think that this procedure must necessarily be equally good for every other country in the world. Those are the two points that are chiefly elucidated and dwelt on in the paper. I think the case is there stated very fairly indeed, and very impartially. I may say that the author of the paper, Mr. Shipley, was for many years connected with the Madras administration. He went through the various grades of administration in the Service, and he was a very good linguist.

Unfortunately, I am sorry to say, ill-health prevents him reading the paper himself, but Dr. Pollen has kindly undertaken to do so. I also regret to say that since I accepted the pleasure of presiding over your meeting this afternoon I had another very important meeting brought to my notice, and I shall not be able to remain here throughout the reading of the paper, so I have asked Sir Arundel Arundel to be kind enough to occupy the chair when I leave. Before I call upon Dr. Pollen to read the paper, I should like to express my great pleasure, after considerable absence, at finding myself once again presiding over a meeting that is being held by the East India Association. (Cheers.)

DR. POLLEN then read the paper.

SIR J. D. REES said that he had not heard the whole of the paper, and he hoped they would forgive his shortcomings on that account. There was one part of it which appealed to him very much, and that was the reference to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. Presumably that gentleman's theory was that there was no such good platform for treating any subject as that of perfect ignorance. Mr. Macdonald considered that any person who knew anything about India was necessarily a prejudiced person, and that for the best opinions you must go to someone—say a Labour Member of Parliament—who knew nothing about the country, and was, therefore, perfectly unprejudiced! The writer of the book under notice in the paper apparently considered that democracy was unsuitable for India. Who could doubt that, especially after seeing the wretched anarchy and chaos that now existed in Persia and China? In Persia twenty-five years ago he could say from his own experience the roads were as safe as Piccadilly, but now the country was a welter of disorder; and in China, so he was told by Ministers, it was useless to make any formal engagements with the authorities. That was the result of introducing democratic government into those countries, and in view of this fact he thoroughly agreed with the Indian gentleman who had written this most excellent book. Then as to the statement that the Collector is the Government. Of course he is! Everyone knew that; and if such was the case, how desperately serious it was when one of those men, who are responsible for

carrying on the government of the country, was actually cast in a suit for damages in the High Court of India, and compelled to lie for four or five years under the stigma of having exceeded his authority. In his opinion anything so serious as that had hardly ever occurred, and it was the mercy of Providence that after all those years that officer should have been restored by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to the position which he occupied before had lawyers had pronounced him to have exceeded his powers, and he trusted that that officer would receive ample compensation for the wrong he had suffered. The position of the Collector was the keynote to the whole Indian system; the position of the Judge was as nothing compared with it. He was glad to see that the writer had set his face against Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's prescription that what India wanted was more Parliament. In his opinion more Parliament would simply be the means of completing her ruin.

Dealing with another point, he believed with the author of the book that ill-considered criticism was one of the main causes of unrest in India, and nothing could be more futile than sops to sedition. He heartily agreed with the writer's axioms. He thought that it was true the people of India, generally, took but little interest in government as a subject for study, but they were well aware what good government was, and they believed that it consisted in letting the people alone as much as possible, and in leaving as much as possible of their money in their pockets. The Indian people understood that as well as any people in the whole world, and he, personally, believed that it was a good theory of government, and that the opposite theory now so fashionable in England was a thoroughly bad theory.

MR. DUBÉ said it had given him pleasure to read the paper, but at the outset he must say that he thoroughly disagreed with it. With reference to the remarks of the last speaker, who had applauded the writer in the efforts he had made, he might say that they in India, and also at home in England, were quite familiar with the exuberance of such political turn-coats. (Cries of "Order, order!")

SIR JOHN D. REES replied that he did not object, but he would like to know in what respect he had turned his Indian coat?

MR. DUBÉ, continuing, said that he did not mean anything improper by his observation, and he was sorry if he had offended, but he believed that a convert to a new political faith had all the enthusiasm of that new faith.

Coming nearer to the actual subject, he could not help noticing that the writer of the book had not defined what he meant by democracy. The word "democracy" was a very difficult word to define, but if he might give his idea of its meaning, what it meant was that the government of a country was to be carried on in the interests of the people of that country, and by the consent of the people of that country. The writer had said that the Government must administer the country on the moderate lines of a limited monarchy. That was sound principle; but he further said that the main prop of British rule in India was the native Princes. Nothing of the sort. In his opinion the main prop of British rule in India was the

contentment of the Indian people. On that, and that alone, could the British Empire in India rest. It was impossible to keep political reforms unless, when they got them, they had, side by side with them, social reforms and educational reforms. The instance of Japan which had been mentioned was, to his mind, quite an irrelevant one.

Much had been said against Mr. Ramsay Macdonald—the man who was fighting the battles of labour in this country—but who was the best man to be believed? Civilians were prejudiced, and Indians were not to be believed; who, then, was the best man? Surely, an honest Englishman who had taken pains to consider the subject, and he would say to them was he not that man who came honestly to certain convictions. Was he not some guide, however unimportant, from an official point of view, he might be?

He was aware that there was the difficulty of castes and creeds in India, but, at the same time, any man who had considered it could not doubt that there was such a thing as genuine political feeling in India, and their greatest English statesmen had also recognized that there was such a thing as Indian national political feeling. He was a keen follower of socialism in this country, and it surprised him very much indeed that anyone who knew India could say that socialistic institutions did not prevail in India. He was of opinion that they prevailed more in India than in this country. The land in India was owned generally by the State, and it was a great bureaucratic socialistic institution.

Before he concluded he wished to say that the British Government of India ought to have taught the masses of India that education was to the interest of the masses; they wanted elementary education and free education, and he submitted that then they could go hand in hand in fellowship with the people of this country and the peoples of the world. Without equality there could be no fellowship.

KHAN BAHADUR ALLAH BAKIISH said that he was sorry to hear the tone of some of the remarks that had fallen from the last speaker. Being an Indian himself, and having worked for thirty-one years in the Educational and Political Departments, and also being conversant with the Native States, where he had ample opportunities of being well associated, officially and otherwise, with the English and all classes of the Indians, he could speak from personal experience.

He had been to Central Asia, and lately travelled through Japan and America, and was delighted to be able to come to England, where he had already passed over five weeks of warm welcome, and to meet the young Indian students who had come here for study, and especially those who had lived and settled here. Some, he noticed, had married English ladies, and, no doubt, they had acquired English habits, and when they talked, therefore, of these matters they no doubt talked in the English spirit.

With regard to administration of affairs in India, when he was at work there he had great sympathy with the Governors, and he realized the difficulties they had to face in India. The time had not yet come when they should branch out into higher political life—they must still depend upon the British Government and upon their Parliament. He could

honestly say that he preferred them to his own people, the Indians. And why? Because there still existed great national, religious and caste prejudices in India. For the administration of India they wanted that impartiality that was necessary, and they would not find it, generally speaking, even amongst the educated Indians. In legal matters, if one asked an Indian *zamindar* (agriculturist) before whom he wanted his suit to be tried, he would at once say before the English Magistrate, because an Indian Magistrate might favour the members of his own caste. The English were not influenced in that way, and he believed, almost without exception, they were impartial and just. (Hear, hear.)

Turning to political reform, as he had so often said, the time would come by-and-by when India would get a Parliament of her own, like the Transvaal, Canada and Australia. They had that claim on His Majesty the King Emperor and the English nation, and that time would certainly come. They had received concession after concession, and he, personally, was not dissatisfied. They had received as much as they deserved; the more they deserved, the more they would get. He wanted those young Indian gentlemen to realize that they must prove themselves, like the English, to be impartial, and then with their morals and other accomplishments they would get eventually everything they wanted. He was against agitation, sedition and disaffection in every shape and form. Providence had placed them under the British rule, and no other Government, in his mind, was so well fitted for their requirements. And so long as it was the will of Providence that it should continue, he believed that it was the best Government to rule over them until they were fitted to rule themselves. (Hear, hear.)

Socially, from what he had seen in India and in England, there was nothing wanting on the part of the English people. As to the Japanese, they were almost without religion and did not care about it. On the other hand, the Indians are very particular about their religion and their caste prejudices, their peculiar habits and customs, which are calculated to prevent them from meeting English people equally on the social platform; otherwise the English people are most willing to meet them half-way. (Hear, hear.)

MR. THORBURN said that he was in full agreement with all the last speaker had said, and to a certain extent he felt a little sympathy with the caustic gentleman who had preceded him, because he agreed with him in some small details. The writer of the book, Mr. Srinivasa Rau, had tried to impress upon his readers that the time was not yet ripe for any form of democratic representative government. He supposed that every informed unbiassed Englishman agreed with that view. The writer went on to say that the Indians were wanting in character, nationality and patriotism, and that they were "particularists"—whatever that exactly meant. He would like to point out to them one important fact, and that was that India was a continent inhabited by a large number of different races, and he failed to see how it was possible for them to expect solidarity of interests in India under those circumstances. Europe contained a much smaller population than India, and yet what did they see? There they saw each

little nation striving after its own special interests. Were they, therefore, not all "particularists"? They had only to look around them in these small islands and they would see Irish Roman Catholics, Welsh Non-conformists, Scotchmen, etc., all striving and competing to gain their own little ends and thinking little of the Commonwealth. He contended that the Indians had "character," and even a strong feeling of nationality; certainly the Mohammedans had, and to a certain extent the same characteristics were shown by the Bengalis when they opposed the partition of Bengal.

DR. ABDUL MAJID said that he had listened to the paper with great interest, but the views expressed in Mr. Srinivasa Rau's book did not come as a surprise to him. The writer belonged to the Brahmin class, who were responsible for the artificial state of society, with its caste system, which exists to-day in India. On the contrary, Mr. Dubé, another Brahmin, had expressed views opposed to Mr. Srinivasa Rau's. It was difficult to decide between two Brahmins who were diametrically opposed to each other. He felt inclined to reject both the views as the safest rule in case of contradictory statements. He had heard Sir J. D. Rees say that a democracy was not suited to the East, quoting Persia and China by way of example. As to Persia, Sir J. D. Rees must not blame the Persians for the state of affairs there. He had better ask Sir Edward Grey and the Russian Government. He could say with certainty, having regard to the fact that he had been in touch with the national feeling in Persia, that no country was better fitted to govern itself than Persia. He was sorry to see that the British Government had sympathized with the methods of the Russian Government. As to China, he was told by well-informed friends that it was not to the interests or the policy of the European Governments to allow self-government to succeed there. To say that the East was not fitted for self-government was absolutely wrong. Such an eminent authority as Lord Acton had said that self-government existed in India during the reign of Asoka. He ventured to say that Moslems were fitted for self-government in any country. Being asked to quote a single instance where self-government existed amongst the Moslems, he pointed out that it existed during the Caliphates of Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman and Ali. Being asked what was the nature of the Caliphate, he stated that it was the same as limited monarchy, allegiance as long as the Sovereign respects fundamental rights of the subjects. But in India there were other peoples to consider. They were not used to constitutional ideals. Democracy would not suit her at the present time. Young India, to which he belonged, had the ambition of self-government as an ultimate solution of the Indian problem. They had laid down for themselves a programme of social reform and of education, and after they have been fulfilled—say, perhaps, twenty or fifty years hence—it was their ambition to have self-government for the Indians and for the English. He did not believe in separating India and England. Indians had lived under the English system for so many years, and it was for their good, as he could say from his experience of the continentals, of whom he knew a good many, that the English polity was the best suited to the East. (Applause.)

MR. LESLIE MOORE, who was called upon, said that if there were any other speakers he would be willing to give way to them. (Hear, hear.)

MR. PEARSON said he understood that the objects of the Association were, as printed, those of an Association instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion by all legitimate means of the public interest and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally. It came rather as a surprise to him to see the way in which they endeavoured to carry that out. He should have thought the best way would have been to have poured oil upon the troubled waters; it seemed to him instead they had had a good deal of vinegar poured upon the troubled waters! He had spent four years only in India, but it seemed to him that an Englishman with true democratic ideals who went out for the first time to the East was a truer judge of what was right than many of those who had been out there for twenty or thirty years. He was quite confident of this much, that, in spite of all that had been said against Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, he was convinced that, although he was a Labour Member, he had been able to interpret the true condition of things in India, perhaps not in every respect, but in a great many respects. He loved India, and in his opinion the only way in which India could be helped by England was by making the Indian feel satisfied, and not discontented. He did not think that afternoon's discussion would have added very much to the contentment of the Indian people. Someone had said that if they believed in God, they must believe that India must be under British rule; he did believe in God, and he also believed that India ought to be under British rule at the present time. (Hear, hear.)

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL (in the chair) said: I am afraid there is no time for further discussion, but I should like to make one or two observations before we close. I want to get back to Mr. Srinivasa Rau's book, and what I want to comment upon for one moment is, first of all, his courage in taking what undoubtedly is, amongst the greater part of his fellow-countrymen, the unpopular side in writing such a book. I should also like to mention the name of another gentleman who has taken the unpopular side, Sir Sankara Nair, one of the Judges of the Madras High Court, who opposed in a paper and in a speech the popular Indian movement that there should be in India a Hindoo University, and also a Mohammedan University. He was opposed to them both on the ground that they might become sectarian, narrow-minded, and perhaps disloyal, and he was received with a considerable amount of virulent language in India simply because he courageously expressed his own opinions. It seems to me we ought to try to cherish amongst the educated people in India honesty of expression of their own convictions, whatever they may be —(Hear, hear)—popular or unpopular. Then there was one other point. I was talking to a gentleman the other day with regard to a student here in London, and this student said: "I do not like to do so-and-so because I am afraid I shall be regarded as a Government man. I have already been suspected of being a Government man, and it has done me considerable harm amongst my friends in India." Another gentleman said: "Yes, it is quite true; students do not like to be regarded as Government men."

Now, what I should like to see is this : that these Indian students should take a higher view of patriotism and of their duty as citizens, and should train themselves up to the idea that they have to help to build the Empire of Great Britain, exactly in the same way as you see is the case with Mr. Borden, who has recently come from Canada, and who is conversing and communicating with our authorities here to see how best his country may be developed in union with our own to make all parts of the Empire strong and prosperous. (Hear, hear.) These students have very little influence now, but the time will come when some of them will have more, and what they should try to do is to find out how best to develop India in connection with the development of the British Empire.

I beg to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Shipley for the paper he has written, and to Dr. Pollen for his kindness in reading it to us.

The proposal was duly seconded and carried with acclamation.

MR. LESLIE MOORE proposed a vote of thanks to their Chairman, Lord Lamington, and also to Sir Arundel Arundel, seconded by Mr. Chisholm, and carried with applause.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE forty-fifth Annual General Meeting of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Wednesday, June 12, 1912, the Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., President, in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D., Sir Walter Charleton Hughes, C.I.E., General F. H. Tyrrell, Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, C.I.E., M.V.O., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. R. Grant Brown, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. S. H. Fremantle, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The Hon. Secretary read several letters of regret from members who were unable to be present at the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, the chief duty of this meeting is the adoption of the Report, which the members have received. The Report is very short and very satisfactory, and I do not remember ever having been able to congratulate the meeting on an increase of 100 members, and this, I am sure you will agree with me, is mainly due to the energetic efforts of our Secretary, Dr. Pollen. (Hear, hear.) In your name I thank him for all he has done during the past year towards the success of our Association. Then the Report alludes to the fact that our representation jointly with other societies was successful when we approached the Secretary of State, and I am sure that we have every reason to be pleased that the Directorship of Archæology was maintained. The study of Archæology and the interest in Archæology, not only in India but in many foreign countries, is of a nature that it is incumbent upon us as custodians of Indian antiquities and Indian monuments to keep unimpaired the treasures that are committed to our charge.

Then the Report alludes to the royal visit to India. I think we are all agreed that the royal visit to India was an unqualified success (applause), and that it has not been merely a series of functions and solemnities, but that it has been a political event which has led to very important results, and it has revealed what, of course, most of those who are here present knew very well by their great experience of India—that there is in India a deep-seated feeling of loyalty towards the Sovereign, and a deep-seated

feeling of the value to Indians of being citizens of an empire like the British Empire. (Hear, hear).

Now I come to the next part of the Report. In the first place I must refer to the late Maharaja of Cooch Behar who was so often in England. Next I wish to pay a tribute to the memory of my friend Lord Northcote. Those who knew him were aware that he was a man of great modesty, of excellent judgment and wherever he went I think he endeared himself to those he came into contact with, and I think I may say a large part of his success was due also to Lady Northcote. I am quite sure that we all sympathize with Lady Northcote in her great grief. I suppose our condolences have been sent to Lady Northcote, and if not, I am sure we all agree they ought to be sent. The next name I see amongst those that we have lost is the name that will always be mentioned in the annals of India with the greatest respect. Sir Charles Elliott was a friend of mine. I knew him in India, where, you may remember, among all the various offices that he filled, was one when he was the head of a Committee which was appointed when much anxiety prevailed in India as to the fall in the value of the rupee, and then Sir Charles was sent with the not very pleasant mandate of finding out in the various provinces what economies might be introduced. My recollection of him in that capacity was that he fulfilled his duties with that extreme vigilance and energy which characterized him; but certainly, as far as the Bombay Presidency was concerned, my recollection is that the proposals he made were just under the circumstances, and my relations with him were most cordial. After that Sir Charles Elliott was my colleague in the School Board of London. He was the Chairman of the Finance Committee—one of the most important committees of the School Board. In that position, and into the duties he had to discharge as a member of the School Board, he threw his whole energy. And not only that, but he did a great deal more than he was obliged to do: he showed direct personal interest in the staff of the teachers of the district assigned to him, and besides he occasionally offered hospitality to the teachers and to the children at Wimbledon. What was so striking in him was the human element. As he grew older it was not, as is so often the case, that one gets indifferent, or that one takes less interest; but as he grew older his sympathy widened, and it was to me always a wonder how a man who had occupied such a high position as that of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal could deal with the minor matters of the School Board and other small matters with the same scrupulous care as he applied to more important questions. I think that few men will have been more regretted, either in India or in England, by the large circle of those who knew him than Sir Charles, and I wish on this occasion to pay a most sincere tribute to his memory. There is one other name I want to allude to, and that is the name of Lord Wenlock, the late Governor of Madras. He was also an extremely modest man; but on various occasions in the House of Lords, when Indian subjects came before that assembly, his remarks were always to the point, and bore testimony to his interest in all that concerned India.

Now, I have only one other matter to bring before you, and that is that

the Secretary will be very glad to receive from you proposals for new members. We are somewhat in the same position as those who are in charge of the Territorials—that we desire to recruit! A great part of our success lies in our being able to recruit new members, but with that precedent of 100 new members last year, we may, perhaps, hope that next year I shall be able to mention that we have recruited 200 members.

From the list of the papers which have been read during the past year you will see how wide is the field that we cover. We have never any difficulty in obtaining papers. The record shows that occasionally our meetings are so well attended that there is a difficulty in seating the members, and there are very few matters to which we do not call attention. It is certainly satisfactory to find the growing interest that is being taken in Indian affairs; that is one of the results of the visit of the King. (Hear, hear.) I believe that the people of England are taking more interest in Indian affairs than they used to do, and perhaps I may be allowed to say that it is also due to that great modern invention, the cinematograph, which undoubtedly has made it possible for many who did not attend the Durbar to see, even better than those who were there, that wonderful assembly.

We are also given the list of leaflets which have been issued by the Association, and for them we owe our best thanks to Mr. Pennington who is our editor and bestows much care on the contents of those leaflets. Well, gentlemen, I do not think that I can add anything in moving the adoption of this Report, beyond expressing on behalf of the Association our best thanks to our Secretary, Dr. Pollen, for editing this Report, and, as I have already said, for the strenuous activity he has displayed on behalf of our Association. I move the adoption of the Report. We will take it as read.

MR. LESLIE MOORE, in seconding the adoption of the Report, said that he would like to ask a few questions, for which he hoped he would be excused, as he had not been present at the Council meetings for some time owing to ill-health and absence from London, which had prevented him from being in possession of the required information. With permission he would like to know from the Secretary what was the present total number of the members of the Association?

The SECRETARY replied that it was 354.

MR. LESLIE MOORE: I see we have 100 new members who have joined during the year. Is that the net increase or the gross increase?

The SECRETARY: That is the gross increase; 72 is the net increase.

MR. LESLIE MOORE said there was another matter on which he would like enlightenment, and that was the cash account. If the ordinary items of receipts were taken, there would be an income of about £590 for the year; there was a balance of £211, and a transfer from deposit account of £100. Deducting these sums from the total on the receipt side, the balance was £590. On the expenditure side, leaving out certain unusual items, such as repainting and papering office, etc., which came to about £41, they had a normal expenditure—apparently, of about £601. On the face of it, it would seem that their normal expenditure was greater than their normal income by about £11. He had asked the Secretary

how that was to be explained, and he had been told that certain subscriptions had not yet come in, but that, when they did come in, the balance would be in their favour.

THE SECRETARY: There is a balance of about £60 in subscriptions still to come in.

MR. MOORE remarked that he wanted that to be brought out, because otherwise anyone reading the Report would think they were not solvent to the extent of about £10 or £11, whereas, as a matter of fact, they were £50 to the good. He had great pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report.

SIR M. BHOWNAGGREE said he would like to ask a question with reference to the printing of the Proceedings of the Association. He thought it would have been considered worth while making some mention of the proposed new arrangement in the Report, but perhaps the arrangements were not yet quite complete? It would be interesting to know how far the Council had proceeded in the matter.

THE SECRETARY replied that their original arrangements still continued as they were up to date; but, as they knew, there was some question about the *Quarterly Review*, and they might have to make other arrangements, but that matter was still under the consideration of the sub-committee appointed by the Council. Their Report had been drawn up, and would be placed before the Council meeting on the 19th. No change as yet had been effected with regard to the printing.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Report having been moved and seconded, I now beg to put it to the meeting.

(The resolution, on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.)

On the motion of SIR ROBERT FULTON, seconded by MR. COLDSTREAM, and carried unanimously, the following Members of Council, who retired by rotation, were re-elected Members of Council:

The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E.

Thomas Jewell Bennett, Esq., C.I.E.

C. E. Buckland, Esq., C.I.E.

Sir Frederic W. Fryer, K.C.S.I.

Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.

Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P.

MR. PENNINGTON moved, and MR. LESLIE MOORE seconded, that their President be re-elected, and this, on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

LORD REAY: I am glad to see that you do not think my age is a bar to my further services. I have great pleasure in moving the appointment as a Member of the Council of my friend, Sir Walter Hughes. His advice will be of the greatest value, especially now that irrigation problems and railway problems and engineering problems are so important in the development of the resources of India. I am sure the Council could not have a more efficient Member than Sir Walter Hughes, who has had such an extended experience, and who has been so much appreciated by myself and by my successors in the office of Governor of Bombay.

MR. BUCKLAND seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by the SECRETARY, the following were elected Vice-Presidents :

H.H. the Aga Khan.
Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.
Sir Henry Seymour King.
Sir Joseph West Ridgeway.

SIR M. M. BHOWNAGGREE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, said that Lord Reay's continued connection with the Association had been of the utmost advantage to it. His Lordship's great popularity in India, and his vast experience of men and matters relating to that country, secured to the Association public confidence on the one hand, and on the other the benefit of his sound views in the discussion of many important questions ; for, as they all knew, Lord Reay had not been content with occupying the position of their President in merely an honorary sense, as happened in the case of the presidents of many societies, but had repeatedly presided over their lectures and discussions. (Cheers.) He had great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to his Lordship.

The proposition was seconded by SIR ROBERT FULTON.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said that with increasing years his interest in India did not diminish, but grew greater every year ; and at the meetings of the Association it was always a great pleasure to him to meet his old friends whose acquaintance he had made in India, and to be associated with them in the discussion of Indian problems.

THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, 1911-12.

IN submitting the forty-fifth Annual Report, the Council consider that the Association is to be congratulated on the steady growth in the number of its Members, and on the increased attendance at its Lectures throughout the year. One hundred new Members have been enrolled since May 1 last, and at some of the Meetings the attendance has been so large that some difficulty was experienced in seating the audience. This shows that the Association has in no way suffered by its withdrawal from the Joint Housing Scheme formulated by the Secretary of State, but, on the contrary, has benefited, and its usefulness has been materially enhanced by its independent position. This is borne out by the satisfactory increase in the number of influential Indian gentlemen joining the Association. If each Member could persuade even one friend to join (and they only require to be asked), we should be in a very strong position.

At the Annual General Meeting, held on June 26, 1911, the Right Hon. Lord Reay was unanimously re-elected President of the Association, and during the year under report, Colonel H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, the Right Hon. the Earl of Minto, Major-General H.H. Maharajadhiraja Sir Pratapsinhji, H.H. Sir Sher Muhammad Khan Zorowar Khan of Palanpur, H.H. the Raja of Pudukkottai, and the Earl of Ronaldshay, have accepted seats as Vice-Presidents. Sir Robert F. Fulton was co-opted a Member of Council.

In common with the Royal Asiatic Society and other learned Societies, this Association deprecated the abolition of the Directorship of Archæology and sent a representation to the Secretary of State on the subject, and it is gratifying to find that His Majesty's advisers have decided against the proposed abolition.

The most important event of the year has undoubtedly been the Royal Visit to India, a visit that has proved, in the best interests of India, an unqualified success. As this Association ventured to predict, Their Imperial Majesties were everywhere received with spontaneous outbursts of devoted loyalty, and the visit has unquestionably served to draw closer the bonds between the British Government and the peoples of India.

During the year the Council have had to deplore the death of three Vice-Presidents—viz., H.H. the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, The Right Hon. Lord Northcote and the Most Hon. the Marquess of Tweeddale; and of one Member of Council—viz., Sir Charles Elliott. The death of Sir Charles Elliott was a very severe blow indeed to the Association, for he had always taken the closest interest in its affairs, and had brought to bear upon its service untiring energy, ripe experience, and his well-known devotion to the best interests of the people of India generally. Letters of condolence were sent to the Maharani of Cooch Behar, Lady Northcote and Lady Elliott.

The following papers were read during the year :

May 16, 1911.—John Begg, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., “The Architect in India.” Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

June 14, 1911.—Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., “Indian Currency Policy.” Sir David Miller Barbour, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., in the chair.

July 12, 1911.—M. T. Kaderbhoy, Esq., “The Moslem University.” The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., in the chair.

October 23, 1911.—Oliver Bainbridge, Esq., on “Some Impressions of India.” Surgeon-General G. J. H. Evatt, C.B., in the chair.

October 30, 1911.—Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., on “The Gates of India.” The Right Hon. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., in the chair.

November 13, 1911.—Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., on “Compulsory Education for India in the Light of Western Experience.” Joseph Hiam Levy, Esq., in the chair.

December 18, 1911.—John Claude White, Esq., C.I.E., on “A Short Description of Sikkim, Lhasa, and Part of Tibet.” Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D., in the chair.

January 31, 1912.—H. G. Keene, Esq., C.I.E., on “Indian Home Rule.” Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., in the chair.

February 19, 1912.—S. S. Thorburn, Esq., on “Peasant Scholarships *versus* Patchwork Compulsory Education for India.” The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., in the chair.

April 24, 1912.—Sir William Chichele Plowden, K.C.S.I., on “Problems of Indian Administration.” The Right Hon. the Earl of Minto, K.G., P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

The following Pamphlets have been issued :

“The Absorption of Gold and Silver by India, and what it Means.”

“The Last Watch of the Night.”

“Glimpses of India, Past and Present.”

“Some Plain Facts about Famines in India.”

“The Truth about Railways.”

“The Cost of the Indian Government.”

“Sir Roland Wilson on the True Character of the Indian Government.”

The following have resigned membership during the year :

Mazerhali Sadikali Ansari, Esq.
Sir Hugh Shakespear Barnes, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
S. R. Bomanji, Esq.
Surgeon-General George Bainbridge.
The Rev. George Reginald Sadler Clack.
Lalchand Chuharmal, Esq.
Kursedjhee Sorabjee Framjee, Esq.
D. S. Kale, Esq.
Sir Henry Christopher Mance, C.I.E., LL.D.
Ardeshir Nowroji, Esq.
William Benjamin Oldham, Esq.
Colonel Duncan George Pitcher.
The Hon. L. M. St. Clair.
Major H. M. Twynam.
F. W. Verney, Esq.
C. W. Whish, Esq.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members:

George Banbury, Esq.
H.H. the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.
Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I.
Moung Ohn Ghine, Esq., C.I.E.
William Hughes, Esq.
W. Irvine, Esq.
Sir Purnaiya Narasingha Rav Krishna-Murti,
K.C.I.E.
The Maharaja of Mourbhanj.
D. N. Mudliar, Esq.
The Right Hon. Lord Northcote, G.C.M.G.,
G.C.I.E.
Byramjee Eduljee Umrigar, Esq.
The Right Hon. Lord Wenlock, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,
K.C.B.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation, and are eligible for re-election :

The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E.

Thomas Jewell Bennett, Esq., C.I.E.

C. E. Buckland, Esq., C.I.E.

Sir Frederic W. R. Fryer, K.C.S.I.

Sir Henry Seymour King, K.C.I.E.

The Right Hon. Sir J. West Ridgeway, G.C.B.,

G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.

Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.

Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P.

Ninety-nine gentlemen and one lady were elected members during the year.

The income for the year ending April 30, 1912 (including balance at bankers and cash in hand), amounted to £901 13s. 1½d. Expenditure £643 12s. 7½d. Balance in hand and at bankers £258 os. 6d.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

"TAOIST TEACHINGS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

DEAR SIR,

In a review of my book, "Taoist Teachings," containing selections from the Chinese philosopher Lieh Tzū (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, pp. 193-5), Professor Parker complains that I have omitted the whole of the eighth book or chapter, and calls my attention to what he is pleased to call "this strange discrepancy." In reply, I would refer him to my introduction, in which the following passage occurs: "Lieh Tzū's work is about half as long as Chuang Tzū's, and is now divided into eight books. The *seventh* of these deals exclusively with the doctrine of the egoistic philosopher Yang Chu, and has therefore been omitted altogether from the present selection."

I may add that Professor Forke's translation of this seventh chapter will shortly appear as a separate volume in the "Wisdom of the East Series."

Yours faithfully,

LIONEL GILES.

13, WHITEHALL GARDENS,
ACTON HILL, W.

September 2, 1912.

MR RAMSAY MACDONALD AND THE INDIAN OFFICIALS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

SIR,

As I have never belonged to the Covenanted Civil Service of India, I feel free to defend it from the scandalous aspersions cast upon it by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

LIBRAIRIE FÉLIX ALCAN: PARIS.

1. *Histoire des Relations de la Russie avec la Chine sous Pierre le Grand* (1689-1730), by GASTON CAHEN. Bell of Antermomy has hitherto been the main source from which the European world has derived its knowledge of the early Russo-Chinese relations. Dr. Dudgeon, of the British Legation, Peking, published a very interesting set of papers on the same subject in the *Chinese Recorder* for 1870. This is alluded to in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1896, where a reduced Chinese version, extracted in the main from the *Tung-hwa-luh* (Manchu Government Records), is provisionally given. The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1905, contributes an extended recast of these diplomatico-commercial transactions; and, quite recently, Mr. Baddeley has given us, in a very readable paper, his view of early Russo-Chinese relations. This was in the *Edinburgh Review* (January, 1912). M. Cahen, "charged with a scientific mission," has had access to the vast and hitherto almost untouched mass of dusty Russian archives, still only half catalogued, and mostly in manuscript. It need hardly be said that his account is infinitely more thorough, and that he has succeeded in filling up innumerable *lacunæ*; but it is doubtful whether any but specialists in search of accurate information upon curious points will brace themselves up to the effort of reading through the

300 pages of this fossil commercial history for the "mere fun of the thing." A second and smaller volume, published in Russian, gives us the full money accounts, balances, profits, etc., of the various missions—very valuable, no doubt, but about as readable to the profane vulgar as "Colenso's Algebra on a wet day."—E. H. PARKER.

THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES: ST. PETERSBURG.

2. *Chao Ju-kwa, his Work on Arab and Chinese Trade during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, by FRIEDRICH HIRTH and W. W. ROCKHILL [in English]. It is sad to think that in these restless hustling days there must necessarily be few people willing to sacrifice the requisite time to a patient study of this remarkable book, and it is equally melancholy to reflect that there cannot be more than a score of persons in the world qualified by previous reading in original Chinese literature to follow out Professor Hirth's admirable critical reasoning. Mr. Rockhill, the distinguished Tibetan scholar, who also enjoys a well-deserved reputation for sound and judicious Chinese reading, is Dr. Hirth's collaborator. Being the fortunate possessor of a valuable private library containing many rare old editions, Eastern and Western; and having had, by reason of his official position in many European, American, and Far Eastern capitals, almost unbroken access to the finest libraries in the world, he has unobtrusively but effectually kept the helm steady, whilst the adventurous German Orientalist has sped his barque of retrospective discovery through the oceans, the currents, the monsoons, the rocks, and the shallows that connect far Morocco with the distant shores of Cathay. The abundant foot-notes and references show that the joint authors have derived considerable assistance from M. Paul Pelliot's previous studies in the same direction. M. Pelliot belongs to the same eminently sane and unspeculative school as that first of modern sinologues, M. Edouard Chavannes, and if M. Chavannes's own

independent observations are not here so frequently cited in the explanatory and expanding foot-notes as one might expect from his encyclopædic knowledge, it is probably because by reason of his tremendous and exhaustive labours in the field of ancient Chinese political and economic history of the land routes, not to mention his "extra dances" in the whirl of Indo-Chinese Buddhism, this brilliant scholar has not yet found time to devote special attention to the sea routes to China. Nor have the industrious labours of M. Gerini been forgotten. As those interested in the subject must know, M. Gerini recently published what we have described as an *immensa moles* of conflicting evidences, speculations, and guesses, with a view to connecting the names of Ptolemy's time with the commercial centres of the Far East as known to-day. A review of M. Gerini's huge volume appeared in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (April, 1910), and if this notice was not so enthusiastically favourable as the laborious author might have desired, it is not because valuable new matter was not actually there in ample quantity, but because it had not been adequately sifted out and crystallized or organized. Evidence and conjecture were too much mixed; personal familiarity with the Chinese language was lacking; and too much stress was laid throughout upon chance coincidences of sound.

At the time when the Phœnicians were founding commercial colonies in the Mediterranean and on the western shores of Europe, their congeners, the trading Arabs, were cautiously ploughing the oceans, or, perhaps, rather, dodging from headland to headland, between the Red Sea and Canton, possibly even the Yangtze Kiang. Such part as the Romans and the Chinese took in developing a sea trade between these extreme points appears to have been in the first instance quite secondary, and altogether subject to Arab initiative; it seems in any case quite certain that the Romans had practically no definite knowledge of Indo-China or China, and that equally the Chinese had practically no positive knowledge of the West India coasts, the

Persian Gulf, Arabia, or the Red Sea before, say, the fourth century of our era. Just as the Turks in the north (*pace* M. Pelliot and his Persians) were chiefly instrumental, shortly after that date, in connecting by way of Persia the economic, social, and religious ideas of the Roman and the Chinese imperial civilizations by land, so the wandering Arabs in the south were equally instrumental at about the same time in connecting by way of India, Ceylon, Sumatra, and Java, the trend of the Roman and Chinese ideas by sea. In other words, in both cases ignorant nomads, with no learning "to them," and who have left practically no early records of their movements behind them, gradually and unwittingly brought about organized and *raisonnée* intercommunication of ideas between the Far East and the Far West, and it is now the task of the Hirths, the Rockhills, and the Pelliot of our own time, who have at hand between them nearly all the known but slender and imperfect records of the East and West, to digest and discriminate; to connect the two, so unintelligible alone; to put them into a common alembic, and to extract therefrom a modicum of pure golden fact. As printed Chinese characters cannot conveniently be reproduced in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and as, without these, it is impossible to do adequate, detailed justice to all the devious and complicated evidence produced, it is not proposed to do more here than say that Messrs. Hirth and Rockhill have abundantly proved their case as a general whole, without waste of words, without mixing fact with fancy, in a perfect spirit of independence and truth. It is believed (from occult sources of information) that M. Pelliot intends to do the desired adequate justice limned above in an early number of the *T'oung-pao*: if the present reviewer hopes for an opportunity of doing likewise, making perhaps one or two criticisms upon M. Pelliot, it is not so much because of his self-assumed literary competence, but because he happens to have been personally at most of the places named—to wit, Zaitun, "Cattigara," Canfu, Hainan,

Hanoi, Tourane, Hué, Kwang-nam (the ancient Cham capital), Quinhon, Johore, Kompot, Pulo Condor; up the Irrawaddy; up part of the Meinam; Calcutta, Madras, Deli (Sumatra), various places in Java, Kedah, Maliwön, and various Burmese and Siamese sub-states in the Malay Peninsula, Aden, Egypt, Morocco, etc., at all of which places he made diligent inquiries, wherever Chinese were to be found, as to the modern and ancient names of places used at various times by the Chinese traders and settlers. The results of his inquiries have been frequently published (mostly in the *China Review*) in the shape of fugitive, often anonymous, notes, and if these tentative conclusions have not met the eye of Dr. Hirth, who seems to have justified some of them, it is probably because, by reason of their anonymity and fugitivity, he did not think them worthy of serious attention.—E. H. PARKER.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD. : LONDON, 1912.

3. *An Outline of the Russo-Japanese War*, 1904-1905, by COLONEL CHARLES ROSS, D.S.O., P.S.C., vol. i., up to and including the Battle of Liao-Yang. This is one of the military textbooks recently published. Its 490 pages are devoted to a clear and thorough explanation of the events which took place at the commencement of hostilities. This important work has been set before the thinking world at a very auspicious moment in the history of Japan. All who wish to read an account of the war between Russia and Japan cannot do better than study this volume. Therein they will find that what appeared at first, when the proclamation was declared, to be a daring piece of presumption on the part of Japan, proved a carefully conceived plan, carried out to the bitter end, by a nation in deadly earnest. Colonel Ross has not rested content with giving details of all that actually happened, but he has dealt with the subject with a masterly hand

from many points of view—viz., that which was expected to happen, that which might have happened, and finally that which became an accomplished fact. In this, as in other cases, the unlikely became the reality, and time and history have written their own records. The reader will discover many surprises, but it will only be by close application to the subject, that he will understand why this war ended disastrously for the greater, and victoriously for the smaller, country.

Colonel Ross has not erred on the side of romance. He has confined his remarks mainly to accurate dealing with the statistics, stratagems, and strategy of the contending armies, their reserve power, and all the gruesome business of war. The individual has no place in his mind; he believes success depends on the genius of the one who commands. Colonel Ross is a man of action. The reverses and victories are dispassionately discussed, and the moving spirits of this recent conflict will find in his volume his opinion of their strength or their weakness clearly stated. The comments and theories of the author which are given at the close of chapters are deserving of our serious attention. His repeated exhortation to be prepared on our own part for any emergency is a warning England would do well to listen to, and discharge faithfully in this her "day."

Fourteen maps giving exact position and strength of the armies as hostilities developed, will be found at the end of the book for reference as the conflict is fought out from its commencement to the Battle of Liao-Yang.—S.

4. *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, by M. AUREL STEIN. Sir M. Aurel Stein will surely be known to after ages as the pioneer of Central Asian archæology and palæographic discovery. We grudge every part of these volumes in which he is describing his travels merely, so eager are we to read about his wonderful "finds" among sand-buried cities in Khotan, and Buddhist caves in Tun-Huang, and

gloat over these continuations of the previous discoveries, which he described in his earlier book.

We thus regret the 116 pages of the book necessary to bring us to the meeting at Kashgar of the author with his admirable Chinese secretary and savant, Chiang-ssü-yeh, to whose collaboration the success of his work owed so much. From there the work is a fascinating description of the discoveries to which the author had vowed himself, illuminated by comments on the travels of his "patron saint," Houan-tsang.

Khotan was his first Mecca, to revisit and attempt to disinter these curious old cities which had been destroyed by the sand that has swept over the once rich district. To get there we read of glaciers and mountainous roads and hairbreadth escapes, but these delay us little till we get to the actual hunt for "treasure." Each search meant delving through the sand erosion, and was only accomplished by sagacity and patient digging through the accumulated sand of the dunes. Kadalik was found to be a mine of archæological wealth. Buddhist texts with cursive Bami script were unearthed, many "khats," or documents, copper coins, etc. Domoko was next examined, which yielded wooden "writs," some in an "unknown" language.

Niya, another buried town, produced interesting household furniture and much wood-carving, and, finally, after much curious discovery, a cellar full of deeds, some sealed with figures of Greek gods. The history of the discoveries at Niya is intensely interesting, and shows how deep the author was in his subject before the book was written. It is impossible to narrate in detail the travels made. The Lop Nor region was next visited, which was "the ancient kingdom of Na-fo-po" of Hsüan-tsang, and the Lop Desert traversed, with constant finds of antiquities, some Neolithic, and careful excavations in Græco-Buddhist stupas. These gave many real links with Western culture, akin

sometimes to Greek, sometimes to Persepolitan decoration. The ruined fort of Miran produced Tibetan records, Turki script, Buddhist paintings of European-looking angels, and very interesting busts of a Western type.

The expedition then proceeded eastward to true Chinese territory, and Tun Huang was the first halt, and the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" the real object. The illustrations (most excellent all through the book) show the beauty of the decorations of this holy place. There the author heard of the existence of quantities of manuscripts. He went on to Tun Hang, however, and there made a wonderful discovery of Han records—documents on wood. Following a "Great Wall," he passed to the Nan Hu Oasis, and at Tun Huang found, in a ruined guard-room, quantities of implements and tablets. Many explorations along the ancient wall followed, and discoveries from silk-bales to Imperial edicts were made before the author returned to the "Thousand Buddhas." A great portion of the second volume is devoted to this series of shrines, and how, in spite of difficulty, by the payment of a sum of money, the author managed to *escamoter* many valuable Buddhist paintings and documents from the priestly guardian, who blew alternately hot and cold on the project of their being given to the world. That these rolls of manuscript will be of priceless value for historical and philological purposes goes without saying, and it will only be when the results of Sir A. Stein's expedition have been patiently translated that its true value will be known. The "Myriad Buddhas," another shrine, was visited, and the author pursued his adventurous way. We need not follow him farther to An-si and Kuchar, but we can say that a geographer will glean much pleasure out of this book, the Sinologist more, and the general reader the most from the admirably instructive account the author gives of his archaeological work in those Eastern lands, of which the early history has till now been almost unknown.—A. F. S.

ANDREW MELROSE: LONDON.

5. *Big-Game Hunting in Central Africa*, by J. DUNBAR-BRUNTON. The literature of sport has grown apace during recent years, but it is to be feared that, partly for this very reason, and partly in consequence of the rapid opening up and ever-increasing accessibility of almost every country in which big game is to be found, the whole subject is already losing much of its former fascination for the general reader in search merely of what is both novel and thrilling. At the same time, since the number of sportsmen, or, at any rate, their range, tends likewise to increase with increased opportunities and the spread of requisite information, any good record of personal experiences in the pursuit of big game, whether in Africa or in Asia, is likely to be welcomed both by veteran hunters and by all "those who meditate big game shooting, and are uncertain what country offers the best opportunities" for winning laurels in this field. The author in his preface explains that he had no idea of recording his experiences as a hunter in any literary form, much less in a book, and that having therefore failed to take a camera with him, he is indebted to others for the excellent illustrations contained in this volume. However, he did not fail to take with him what was probably even more important—namely, a trained faculty of observation such as we should expect of a medical man, with the result that he has been able to vary his shooting records with many interesting details, not only regarding the habits of the different varieties of game, but also regarding the scenery and flora, the folk-lore, and the customs of the country—all told in a very readable manner. Hence Mr. Dunbar-Brunton's book should appeal to others besides professed sportsmen, while the latter will not, we think, be disposed to quarrel with him on that score, or on account of the occasional introduction of decidedly small game into the narrative of his shooting experiences. The

hints offered to newcomers in regard to outfit, battery, and health are sound, if not strikingly novel, while a short chapter, entitled "Some Aphorisms for Sportsmen," might be said to contain the maximum of good sense and good feeling in the minimum of space; the author here and elsewhere laying particular stress on the value of courtesy and consideration in the hunter's dealings with natives both high and low, especially his carriers, to whom, for the time being, "he stands in *loco parentis*." Among other matters of immediate interest to sportsmen, we find that Mr. Dunbar-Brunton favours the ear-shot or even the heart-shot in the case of elephants in preference to the frontal brain-shot, thus endorsing the verdict of those who have hunted the elephant in Asian jungles, where a clear view of the whole head is hardly ever to be obtained, and where the ear-shot itself sometimes fails on account of the deceptive similarity, in an uncertain light, of some part of the frayed ear-tatters of an old elephant to the actual ear-hole. For the second kind of shot a good indication is, we believe, afforded by the light patch of skin visible at the junction of foreleg and body, when the elephant is in the act of making a step. Attention is drawn to the part played by the zebra as a watchdog that warns the buck of the hunter's approach just at the critical moment, and to the noisy and similarly disastrous intrusions of the honey-bird; while the surprising vitality of wounded deer is once again illustrated by the author's experiences in the case of the lechwe, the sable, and the eland. As regards the shooting of cows and immature game, we think that Mr. Dunbar-Brunton, while rightly holding that trophies, and not carcasses, are the end which the true sportsman has in view, is yet inclined to sanction a somewhat wide margin of mere "shooting for the pot"—mainly, no doubt, for the sake of the native carriers, to whom meat spells not only meat, but also money. Various instances are given of the rapid extermination of game in certain regions, while the author

himself testifies to the strikingly beneficial effects of the Game Preservation Laws in the case of the eland. Against this criticism, however, it is only fair to set off the alarming increase in the number of lions to be found in the vicinity of the big-game reservation near Lake Mweru, while most of the indiscriminate slaughter in the past has probably been the work of native hunters rather than of European sportsmen. And we might mention in passing that the native methods of driving and netting deer here described and deplored are very similar to those practised by the Malays, the object in both cases being, of course, food rather than sport, as we understand it. The vindictive ferocity of the buffalo ("bos caffir") is illustrated by several well-authenticated instances, while that "somewhat maligned" animal, the rhinoceros, finds a champion in Mr. Dunbar-Brunton, whose experience goes to show that, in the event of its failing to find its pursuer at the first charge, it will often go straight off, with no further attempt to pursue the latter in his turn. The chapter on the lion is, perhaps, the most exciting in the whole book.

In conclusion, we would ask the reader not to miss the specimens of African folk-lore recorded in the chapter on "Camp-Life in the Bush," more particularly the "Just So" story, which explains how the cat came to be associated with women.

The book is printed in large clear type, and is supplemented with a very serviceable map of North-Eastern Rhodesia, an appendix containing detailed information in regard to expenses and the like, and a brief vocabulary in three native languages.—G. J. A.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS: LONDON.

6. *The Mahāvamsa, or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, by
 PROFESSOR WILLIAM GEIGER, PH.D. (Erlangen University),
 assisted MRS. MABEL HAYNES BODI, PH.D. (Lecturer

on Pali, University College, London), with a preface by PROFESSOR T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. Published under the patronage of the Government of Ceylon. Buddhistic literature seems to be in special vogue just now, and M. Paul Pelliot's recent discoveries in the grottoes of Tun-hwang (not to mention the earlier finds of Dr. A. Stein) have given additional zest to the Buddhistic appetites of the gallant band of students in the China department, headed by the marvellously industrious Professor Édouard Chavannes and his distinguished colleague, M. Sylvain Lévi. The present work appears to be in every sense of the highest quality, and there are in the Introduction some exceedingly interesting historical discussions about Asoka's identity and date, Buddha's birthplace, the Chinese accounts of Ceylon and India, the Burmese traditions, the Buddhist Councils, the travels of Hiouen-tsang, King Sandragupta, etc. All this is, in a measure, within the writer's humble competence as a *Fachmann*; but when it comes to the main text—the consecrating of Paṇḍu Kābhaya, the acceptance of the Cetiya-pabbata-vihāra, the entrance into the Tusita-Heaven, and so on—he gets completely out of his depth, and wildly reels with a sickly feeling of incompetency and helplessness. Still, someone having sent him the book, he is bound to express his gratitude for the compliment, whilst pleading his total unworthiness. He cannot stomach Buddhistic religious literature in any form or shape, though he is intensely interested in any fragments of historical fact that can be extracted therefrom.—E. H. PARKER.

7. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, by VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A. (Dubl. et Oxon), with 386 illustrations. This book gives to us for the first time a chronological, descriptive history of fine art in India and Ceylon from the third century B.C. to the present day. The art history is treated throughout in close connection with political and

religious revolutions, and the judgments of experts have been utilized as far as possible.

The main topics dealt with are sculpture and painting. In Chapters II. and XII. merely outline sketches of the leading Hindu and Muhammadan styles respectively are offered. Chapters III. to VII. gives continuous and tolerably full history of Hindu sculpture, the term "Hindu" including Jain and Buddhist. Muhammadan sculpture, chiefly decorative, is discussed in Chapter XIII. Chapters VIII., IX., and XIV., if read together, present a history of Indian painting in considerable detail. A selection of specially artistic Hindu minor works, which cannot be ranged under the heads of sculpture or painting, is described in Chapter X. Chapter XI. deals with foreign influences on Hindu art. The illustrations, mostly from photographs, include a large number never before published. Bibliographical notes are inserted where required, and a comprehensive index is given at the end. The volume is well got up, and the illustrations are beautifully produced.

THE CLARENDON PRESS: OXFORD.

8. *The English Factories in India, 1637-1641*, by WILLIAM FOSTER. This excellently edited calendar of documents continues to draw its slow length along, and enlighten us as it does so. During the period that is covered the Portuguese power in the East was diminishing fast, and the Dutch was growing. The Danes were still in the field, and the French were beginning to show an active interest in the East, also to the disquietude of the English merchants. The latter had many things to disturb them—the Malabar pirates, who were particularly active, and they had to suffer many disturbing things, from the murder of John Drake, near Agra (his tomb forms the frontispiece of this volume), in 1637, to the plundering of the *Comfort* in the next year. In 1638 the President (Methwold) re-

turned home, leaving Fremlen to succeed him, although only thirty years of age. In 1641 the Portuguese lost Malacca to the Dutch, which gave the latter the supremacy on the eastern side of India; and on this side the English had been particularly active, having factories in 1637 at Masulipatam, Armagon, Viravasaram, Petapoli, Balasore, and Harihapur. There was in 1639 an interesting journey by the English Agent Cogan from Surat to Goa inland, before he took up office at Masulipatam, where he received the King of Golconda the same year. "His coming was purposely for presentes," wrote the Agent. Stories of dangers, mismanagement, and daring, are found all through the book, which, like the other volumes of its series, adds much to our knowledge of the history of the English factories.—A. F. S.

G. A. NATESAN AND CO. : MADRAS.

9. *The Twentieth Century Tamil Dictionary*, by P. RAMANATHAN, B.A., M.R.A.S. Tamil scholarship has made such rapid strides within the last fifty years that the want of a comprehensive up-to-date dictionary has long been felt, and Mr. Ramanathan is to be congratulated on the successful termination of his great enterprise. His lexicon is a distinct advance on former *agaradhis*, embodying as it does all that is valuable in the labours of his predecessors, and including over ten thousand new words and phrases. Amongst its special features is the incorporation of a large number of Sanskrit philosophical terms found in Tamil, and the work, in this and other respects, has been prepared with an intensity of research which reflects the greatest credit on the author and his staff. On one point alone can any fault be found with the book. All students probably now acknowledge the substantial justice of Voltaire's criticism that a dictionary without quotations is but a skeleton. Their exclusion in the present instance is therefore to be regretted, and it is to

be hoped that it will be remedied in future editions. The dictionary claims to be the first real contribution to Tamil scholarship, since the establishment of the Madras University, by one of its graduates. The well-deserved praise of Professor Saminatha Iyer, of the Madras Presidency College, and of other competent pandits of the Madura Tamil Sangam, is a sufficient guarantee of the worth of the work, which bids fair to inaugurate a new epoch in Oriental lexicography.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

The Doctrine of Māyā in the Philosophy of the Vedānta, by PRABHU DUTT SHĀSTRĪ, PH.D. (Kiel), M.A., M.O.L., B.T. (PB.), B.SC., LIT. HUM. (Oxon.), of Christ Church, Oxford. (London: Luzac and Co.) The Doctrine of Māyā is the pivotal principle in the Advaita Philosophy, the final pronouncement of Indian speculation on the conception of reality and appearance. The author gives us this little volume with a view to contributing a little towards a clearer understanding on the problem, which is much debated.

A Manual of Buddhism, by DUDLEY WRIGHT, with an introduction by PROFESSOR EDMUND MILLS, D.SC., LL.D., F.R.S. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd.). In this short treatise the author presents a systematically arranged outline of, and thus an introduction to, the teachings of Buddhism; and, in order that these teachings may be comprehended, even by those who have no knowledge of the subject, the use of Pali expressions has been avoided.

Selections from the Koran, compiled and translated from the original Arabic by MIRZA ABUL-FAZL (Allahabad: G. A. Asghar and Co.). In this little volume the author's aim has been to bring together, under their own Surahs, all the important verses with suitable headings as may help people to form a correct estimate as to the general contents of the Sacred Book of the Muhammadan World.

Copts and Moslems under British Control: A Collection of Facts and a Résumé of Authoritative Opinions on the Coptic Question, by KYRIAKOS MIKAIL (London: Smith, Elder and Co.). This little book presents a clear and dispassionate statement of the Coptic grievances and the Coptic claims.

A Dictionary of Oriental Quotations (Arabic and Persian), by CLAUD FIELD, M.A. (London: Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd.). A very fine collection of sayings from the still hitherto largely unworked mines of the Orient.

The Golden Legend of India; or, Story of India's God-given Cynosure, by WILLIAM HENRY ROBINSON (London: Luzac and Co.). This work is based upon an ancient narrative of human life, contained in the very oldest sacred writings of Indian antiquity.

Outfit and Equipment for the Traveller, Explorer, and Sportsman, edited by EUSTACE REYNOLDS-BALL, F.R.G.S., with contributions by Sir H. H. JOHNSTONE, HARRY DE WINDT, F. C. SELOUS, F. G. AFLALO, and others (Reynolds-Ball's Guides, 27, Chancery Lane, London). This handy manual gives to the general public a long-felt want. The authors' hints on equipment and outfit are hints not to be overlooked. Chapters dealing with Hints on Outfit in Tropical Countries, Far East, Arctic Regions, by well-known travellers, are interesting and useful. Other chapters deal with "Equipment for the Big-Game Sportsman," "The Traveller at Sea," and "Angling Outfit for the Traveller."

Livingstone College Year Book, 1912. (Leyton, London, E.). This contains various interesting matters in addition to the report which was published at the end of 1911. The extracts from letters from old students offer a very striking testimony to the value of the College training. Mr. Hiscock gives a description of some of the terrible episodes of the Chinese Revolution, and of the cruelties shown to the wounded. There is also an account of a year's progress in Tropical Medicine, dealing especially

with the interest recently shown in the subject of leprosy, owing to a careful study of the organism which causes the disease, which it is hoped will lead to practical measures in the way of treatment.

Mary Queen of Scots: A Drama in Five Acts, by BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSSON. Translated from the Norwegian by AUG. SAHLBERG (Chicago, Illinois: Speciality Syndicate Press). This translation of the famous Norwegian author is interesting. The little volume is well printed, and contains a photograph of the author.

Memoir of General Sir Alexander Taylor, G.C.B., Royal Engineers (Bengal), by COLONEL SIR EDWARD THACKERAY, K.C.B., V.C., late R.E. (Bengal). A memoir of one of our most distinguished of the old Punjab officers, who took part in the great Indian Mutiny of 1857, giving vivid sketches of the gallant officer's career.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), May, June, and July, 1912 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, June, July and August, 1912 (published by the Society at Hastings Street, Calcutta);—*The Wealth of India*, a monthly magazine of information and instruction on agriculture, trade, industry, economics, etc., edited by G. A. Vaidyaraman, B.A. (Madras: G. A. Vaidyaraman and Co.);—*The Struggle over Tripoli*:

A Warning to the Turkish Nation, by Dr. Mehemed Emin Effendi (pseudonym), authorized translation from the German by Mrs. Ellen Scott, M.L.B., in Berlin (London: Luzac and Co.);—*Iscariot's Bitter Lore* (London: Headley Brothers);—*Omar in Hades*, by F. S. Doctor (Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co.);—*Let Us Reason Together*, by Mark B. F. Major (London: George Allen and Co., Ltd.);—*A Research into the Origin of the Third Personal Pronoun Epicene in Pentateuch, and its Connection with Semitic and Indo-European Languages*, a Contribution to Philological Science, by J. Iverach Munro, M.A. (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press);—*Les Fermes-Chapelles au point de vue Économique et Civilisateur* (Bruxelles: Misch and Thorn);—*The Encyclopædia of Islam*, a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples, prepared by a number of leading Orientalists, edited by M. Th. Houtsma, T. W. Arnold, R. Basset, and R. Hartmann (London: Luzac and Co.; Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd.);—*Archæological Survey of Ceylon: Epigraphia Zeylanica*, being Lithic and other Inscriptions of Ceylon, edited and translated by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe, HON. M.A. (Oxon) (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press);—*Viśvakarma*: Examples of Indian Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Handicraft, chosen by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. (London: Luzac and Co.);—*Resolution reviewing the Reports on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the Year 1910-1911* (Bombay: Government Central Press);—*The Twelfth Financial and Economical Annual of Japan, 1912*, the Department of Finance (Tokyo: Government Printing Office);—*Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen (Korea), 1910-1911*, compiled by the Governor-General of Chosen;—*La Pénétration de la Civilisation au Congo Belge et les bases d'une politique Coloniale* (Bruxelles: Misch and Thorn, Libraires-Éditeurs).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *Accounts of My Life*, by Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jahan Begaum, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Ruler of Bhopal (London : John Murray);—*A Primer of Hinduism*, by J. N. Farquhar, M.A. (London : Henry Frowde);—*The Golden Bough : A Study in Magic and Religion*, third edition, Part V. ;—*Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, Vols. I. and II., by J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*The Standard of Value*, by Sir David Barbour, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G. (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*Across Australia*, by Baldwin Spencer, C.M.G., M.A., F.R.S., and F. J. Gillen, Vols. I. and II. (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*A Colony in the Making ; or, Sport and Profit in British East Africa*, by Lord Cranworth (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*The Real Siberia, together with an Account of a Dash through Manchuria*, by John Foster Fraser (London : Cassell and Co., Ltd.);—*An American Girl at the Durbar*, by Shelland Bradley (London : John Lane);—*Handbook of British East Africa, 1912-1913*, compiled by H. F. Ward and J. W. Milligan (London : Sifton, Praed and Co., Ltd.);—*Out in China*, by Mrs. Archibald Little (London : Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd.);—*Scinde in the Forties*, being the Journal and Letters of Colonel Keith Young, C.B., edited by Arthur F. Scott (London : Constable and Co., Ltd.);—*The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkard*, published by the "Society for the Promotion of Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion" (Bombay), under the supervision of Dhanjishah Meherjibhai Madan, M.A., LL.B., Part I., Books III.-V., Part II., Books VI.-IX.;—*Symbolism in Chinese Art*, by W. Perceval Yetts (China Society);—*Studies in Saiva-Siddhanta*, by J. M. Nallasvami Pillai, B.A., B.L. (Madras : At the Meykandān Press);—*Les Derniers Barbares. Chine, Tibet, Mongolie*, par le Commandant D'Ollone (Paris : Pierre Lafitte and Cie.);—*Myths and Legends of Japan*, by F. Hadland Davis, illustrated by Evelyn Paul (London :

George G. Harrap and Co.) ;—*The Indian Scene*, by J. A. Spender (London : Methuen and Co., Ltd.) ;—*Art and Swadeshi*, by Ananda Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. (Madras : Ganesh and Co.) ;—*Taoïsme*, Tome I., Bibliographie Générale (Paris : E. Guilmoto) ;—*Chinese Legends and Lyrics*, by W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D. (London : Luzac and Co. ; Shanghai : Kelly and Walsh).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE Indian Budget statement made in the House of Commons in August was of a highly satisfactory nature. The finance for the year has been a record. The harvests have been bounteous, and trade has thrived. Exports and imports were higher than ever before, those of merchandise amounting to £92,000,000 and £151,000,000 respectively, while the imports of treasure were £28,000,000. During the past ten years imports have expanded by 70 per cent., and the exports by 83 per cent., and the imports of treasure by no less than 285 per cent. Opium yielded some £2,000,000 above the estimate, owing to exceptional causes, but there was a falling off in the land revenue of nearly £700,000. Expenditure was considerably below the estimate. The result has been a net revenue of £56,209,000 as compared with an estimate of a little over £52,000,000, yielding a gross surplus of £4,848,000, which, after certain deductions, remains at £3,960,000, over £3,000,000 of which will go to the reduction of debt.

The arrangements for the inauguration of the new capital were completed on September 17 by the publication of the official proclamation converting Delhi and its suburbs from October 1 into a small Chief Commissionership and appointing Mr. W. Hailey, a member of the Civil Service, to administer it under the Government of India.

A Royal Commission has been appointed, under the chairmanship of the Right Hon. Lord Islington, K.C.M.G., to examine and report upon the Public Service in India.

The terms of the reference are as follows: To examine and report upon the following matters in connection with the Indian Civil Service, and other Civil Services, Imperial and Provincial:

1. The methods of recruitment, and the systems of training and probation.

2. The conditions of service, salary, leave, and pension.

3. Such limitations as still exist in the employment of non-Europeans, and the working of the existing system of division of services into Imperial and Provincial; and generally to consider the requirements of the Public Service, and to recommend such changes as may seem expedient.

The Government of Madras have sanctioned the proposal to establish a central sugar factory on a small scale as an experimental measure in the Nogel Valley in the heart of the sugar-cane tract of Coimbatore district, and have allotted 10,000 rupees for the purpose.

The Secretary of State has accorded his sanction to a project for the construction of the Nira Right Bank Canal in the Sholapore district of the Bombay Presidency as a protective irrigation work. The total cost of the scheme is estimated at 2,57,72,000 rupees.

The trade between Bengal and Tibet in 1911-12 showed a marked increase in spite of the disturbances in Lhasa. The value rose from about 18½ to 24½ lacs of rupees. The trade between the United Provinces and Tibet during the same period rose by 1 lac.

In the course of the Irrigation Report just issued, reference is made to the action taken by the Government of India on the projects recommended by the Irrigation Commission. The Triple Canal project will be completed in 1914-15. The total estimated cost of the combined system is 10½ crores of rupees.

The Government have notified important changes in their internal opium policy, especially in connection with smoking and the preparation of smoking material.

The Governor of Bombay opened the Fourth Moslem

Educational Conference at Bombay on August 8, and in a long speech referred to the steady advance made in Muhammadan education. He commended the efforts that had been made in this direction, but deprecated the use of compulsion.

The Secretary of State in Council has created a new appointment on the establishment of the India Office, with the designation of Secretary for Indian Students, and Mr. C. E. Mallet has been selected to the post. He will be responsible for official correspondence with advisory committees in India, and with University and professional authorities in the United Kingdom, and will undertake such work for the benefit of Indian students in this country as the Secretary of State may determine.

Mr. C. H. Wilson, C.I.E., has been nominated an additional Member of the Bombay Legislative Council in place of the Hon. Sir Henry E. E. Procter.

The Maharaja of Darbhanga, K.C.I.E., Mr. E. A. Gait, C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mr. E. V. Levinge, C.S.I., have been appointed Members of the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Behar and Orissa.

Mr. William Rees Davies, K.C. (Attorney-General), has been appointed to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Colony of Hong Kong.

Sir George Clarke's term of office as Governor of Bombay has been extended for a period of six months. He will be succeeded by Lord Chelmsford, now Governor of New South Wales.

Lieutenant-General Sir John Eccles Nixon has been appointed to an Army Command in India, which will become vacant on October 30 next, in consequence of the retirement of General Sir E. G. Barrow from the command of the Southern Army.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has appointed as his Prime Minister his Excellency the Nawab Salar Jung, grandson of Sir Salar Jung, in place of Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad, who has retired.

The Right Hon. Mr. Syed Amir Ali, C.I.E., is to preside over the next annual session of the All-India Moslem League, to be held on December 30 and 31.

Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Gwalior and the Maharaja of Indore have each subscribed five lacs of rupees to the Hindu University Scheme.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—The Ameer has carried out his intention of strengthening the outposts on the Perso-Afghan border, and also in Afghan Turkestan, to the North of Herat.

A small expedition of 750 men is being prepared for the purpose of road-making in the Mishmi country, Assam.

CEYLON.—Telegraph rates between India and Ceylon were reduced on September 1. The rate will be twelve words for one rupee instead of three annas per word.

Mr. John George Fraser has been appointed a Member of the Executive Council of the Island of Ceylon.

PERSIA.—The outlook in Persia is very gloomy, and steadily grows worse. The greater part of the north is practically under Russian control. In the south a complete state of anarchy exists. The Government can exercise no authority over a vast area, and their Treasury is empty. The only hope for the country seems to lie in the two friendly Powers taking concerted action to devise a definite constructive policy for the restoration of Persia. The need for such a measure seems to be more necessary by the fact that a force of *gendarmes* under Swedish officers sustained defeat on August 6 at the hands of some of Sowlet-ed-Dowleh's followers, whose exactions and depredations on the Shiraz-Bushire route have led to the complete stoppage of traffic. Twenty gendarmes were killed, and a gun and nearly all their rifles were captured. Fighting continues in different parts, but without any political bearing. The Spahadar, in leaving for Tabriz to act as Governor-General of Azerbaijan, stipulated the establishment of a Cossack force for Tabriz under Russian officers, and a similar brigade at Teheran. An effort is

being made by the British Minister to secure the opening of the Bakhtiari trade route from Teheran to Mohammerah. Sardar Jengh has been appointed as Ilkhani of the Bakhtiari for a term of five years, with despotic powers. His task will be to secure the safety of the trade route, and to maintain good relations with the Sheiks at Mohammerah.

During the year ending March 20, 1911, the trade of Persia with foreign countries amounted to £17,198,691, as compared with £16,279,094 in the preceding year. Imports amounted to £9,690,153, and exports to £7,508,538. In the preceding year imports amounted to £8,848,565, and exports to £7,430,519. Russia heads the list, Persia importing Russian goods to the value of £4,391,184, and exporting to the same country £5,244,523. The British Empire stands second with a total of £4,541,560, compared with £3,697,978 in the previous year. Exports to the British Empire amount only to £748,257.

Mr. E. Bristow has been appointed Vice-Consul for the Provinces of Persia on the south of the Caspian Sea, to reside at Resht.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.—The transit dues of the Suez Canal are to be reduced from January 1 next by fifty cents. In three successive years three reductions, amounting to a total reduction in the tariff of about 20 per cent., have now been made.

M. Francis Peter, a Geneva jurist, has been appointed Judge of the Mixed Tribunals in Egypt.

CHINA.—Dr. G. E. Morrison has been appointed Adviser to the Republican Government of China.

JAPAN.—The Emperor Mutsuhito of Japan died on July 30 at Tokyo after ten days' illness. He is succeeded by the Crown Prince, Yoshihito Harunomiya, the late Emperor's third son, who was nominated heir-apparent in 1887, and proclaimed Crown Prince in 1888. The Emperor has expressed his determination to follow in the footsteps of his father, and to observe the Constitution.

The funeral of the late Emperor took place at Motoyama,

Kyoto, on September 13. Prince Arthur of Connaught represented King George at the obsequies.

The military authorities have decided to carry into effect the long-standing proposal to increase the number of troops in Korea by two divisions. The scheme will begin to come into operation next year, and will be completed in 1918 at a net cost of 26,000,000 yen (£2,600,000).

The King has been pleased to confer the Order of the Garter upon His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and to entrust His Royal Highness Prince Arthur of Connaught with a mandate to invest His Imperial Majesty with the Ensigns of the Most Noble Order.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The Union Government has petitioned the King and Queen to visit South Africa in order to open the Union Buildings at Pretoria.

AFRICA: GOLD COAST.—Sir Hugh Charles Clifford, K.C.M.G., Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast Colony, in succession to Mr. James Jameson Thorburn, C.M.G., retired.

AFRICA: MOROCCO.—Mulai Hafid, the Sultan of Morocco, has abdicated the throne, and Mulai Yusef has been proclaimed. The ex-Sultan stated that the troublous period through which he had lately passed determined him in his action. He feels that the new régime requires new men.

TURKEY IN ASIA: YEMEN.—More fighting has taken place in Yemen. Izzet Pasha, commanding the troops, has reported that he defeated a force of 3,000 men with three guns under the Pretender, Syed Idris, at El Hafa and Dershuma. The rebels suffered heavy losses, while the casualties among the troops were slight.

AUSTRALIA.—The principal feature of the Australian Commonwealth Budget is the proposal to spend almost £4,000,000 on new works and buildings; £1,307,000 is to be provided for fleet construction.

The Amended Defence Bill, under which the *minimum*

penalty of £5 for evasion of service becomes the *maximum*, has passed both Houses.

Lord Denman turned the first sod of the new Trans-Australian Railway on September 15. The line is to connect Port Augusta, in South Australia, with Kalgoorlie, and will give Western Australia access by land to the rest of the Commonwealth.

NEW ZEALAND.—Mr. Mackenzie, the former Prime Minister, will be appointed High Commissioner for New Zealand in London.

Lord Liverpool succeeds Lord Islington as Governor of New Zealand.

The Budget was presented to Parliament on August 6 by the Finance Minister, who gave an outline of the policy of Mr. Massey's Government.

It is proposed to abolish the present system of nominating the members of the Legislative Council, and to substitute an elective system, the present Councillors to retain their positions until their terms have expired. Provision will be made for the granting of preference to British manufacturers tendering for Government supplies. The graduated land tax will be lessened on properties under £5,000 in value, and increased on those above £30,000 in value. The estimated revenue for the year was £10,948,000, and the expenditure £10,863,000. The Treasury will raise a loan of £1,750,000 for public works purposes.

CANADA.—Monday, July 1, was the forty-fifth anniversary of Canadian Confederation, and the event was celebrated by Canadians in London. The Dominion Day dinner was held, at which Lord Strathcona presided, and a very representative gathering assembled, including many members of the Canadian Parliament.

Mr. Justice Davidson has been appointed Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the Province of Quebec, in place of Sir Melbourne Tait, retired.

The Right Hon. R. L. Borden, the Canadian Prime

Minister, arrived in London on July 4 accompanied by Mrs. Borden and several members of the Canadian Parliament. During their stay in England they were entertained by many members of the home Parliament, as well as attending a dinner given in honour of the Canadian Prime Minister at the Royal Colonial Institute.

The gross receipts of the Canadian Pacific Railway for the twelve months ending with June last amount to \$122,855,000, which is \$18,687,000 above the receipts for the previous year.

Mr. C. Hamilton Wickes has been appointed Trade Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada and the Colony of Newfoundland.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Customs revenue of Newfoundland for the fiscal year just ended breaks all records, being \$275,000 above that for the previous year.

OBITUARY.

THE following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Captain Henry Edward Hotham (Kaffir and Zulu wars 1878-79);—Dr. Arthur Richardson, P.S.D., F.R.C.S., late Hon. Principal and Professor of Chemistry, Central Hindoo College;—Field-Marshal Sir George Stuart White, V.C., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., G.C.I.E., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., O.M. (Indian Mutiny, Afghan war 1878-80, Nile expedition 1884-85, Burmese war 1885-87, Zhob expedition 1890, Commander-in-Chief in India 1893-98, Boer war 1899, appointed Governor of Gibraltar 1900);—Surgeon-General Byng Thomas Giraud, M.D. (Russian war 1885, China war 1860, 1862-63, Afghan war 1878-80, Egyptian expedition 1882);—Colonel Harry Croker Fox, late Royal Engineers;—Colonel Claude M. Crawford (Burmese expedition 1887-89; China expedition 1900);—Mr. Harry Augustus Frederick Currie, C.M.G., General Manager of the Uganda Railway;—Colonel Lionel Edward B. Booth (Afghan war 1879-80, Egyptian expedition 1882);—Lieutenant-Colonel Hubert Langton Walter, late Bombay Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny, Abyssinian expedition 1868);—Lieutenant-Colonel Harold Stephen Fox-Strangways, Deputy-Commissioner for the Jhelum District in the Punjab;—Captain M. J. D. Young, of the Supply and Transport Corps, Abbottabad;—Colonel G. Forbes (Indian Mutiny, Eusofzai campaign 1863-64);—Major William Barnett (Isazai expedition 1892, Chitral expedition 1895, South Africa);—Vice-Admiral Hart Dyke (Abyssinian expedition);—Mr. Henry Morris, late I.C.S.;—Sir Charles Pontifex, K.C.I.E., former Judge of the Bengal High Court, and afterwards Legal Adviser to the India Office;—Major-General George Newmarch (Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58);—Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel Stanley Locker Dobie, of the I.M.D. (Afghan war 1879-80);—Major-General A. H. Utterson (Crimea 1855, Afghan war 1879);—Colonel H. G. Saunders, late Indian Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny 1857-58);—Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, late I.C.S.;—Mr. Charles Dickenson Field, late Bengal Civil Service;—Colonel W. E. Cates, I.M.S. (Indian Mutiny 1857, Afghan war 1879);—Mr. P. S. Shettle, I.C.S.;—Mr. J. F. Brewster, I.C.S.;—Colonel H. C. Bagot-Chester (Indian Mutiny, on Governor-General's Staff in India 1859-61);—Mr. A. W. Paul, I.C.S. (retired);—Mr. Charles Blythe Critchley, I.C.S.;—Captain H. D. Dougan, I.M.S.;—Major-General James

Smith Martyr, late Indian Army ;—Colonel Charles James Whitlock, late Indian Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel George Oliver Rybot (Indian Mutiny) ;—Captain Arthur William Stiffe, of the old Indian Navy ;—Colonel Hugh Ingram Everard Ford (Indian Mutiny, Umbeyla campaign 1863) ;—General Sir Charles Gough, v.c. (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Indian Mutiny 1857, Bhootan expedition 1864-65, Afghan war 1878-79) ;—Colonel A. E. Hamilton Smyth (Afghan war 1879-80) ;—Surgeon-Major Bernard Kendall, I.M.S. (Indian Mutiny 1857) ;—Lieutenant Henry Gordon Bell, R.E., of the Survey of India ;—Major-General Sir William H. R. Green, entered Indian Army 1841 (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Russo-Turkish war 1854, Crimea, Persian campaign 1856, Indian Mutiny 1857) ;—Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., LL.D., an eminent Anglo-Indian jurist ;—Major F. C. A. Parsons, Indian Army ;—Major-General George Elphinstone Erskine, of the Indian Army ;—Major Charles Pain, of the Bombay Engineers ;—Right Rev. Edward Ralph Johnson, formerly Bishop of Calcutta ;—Mr. Edward Fountaine Jacob, C.I.E.

September 18, 1912.



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